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THE
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VOL. LXXVII—1941

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GEORGE PEABODY AS A YOUNG MAN

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXVII

JANUARY, 1941

No. 1

GEORGE PEABODY — AN AMERICAN IN LONDON.

BY MURIEL E. Hidy, *Wheaton College.*

In 1827, George Peabody, a young man from Essex County, Massachusetts, went to England. Described by his passport as aged 32, 6 feet, 1 inch tall, he had the personality as well as the business ability to make himself one of the leading Americans in England during the middle of the nineteenth century. Apart from short visits to his native country, this citizen of the United States made London his home, but he remained an American abroad both in his business and general interests. Through this fact he not only gained popularity in the United States but he also helped to forward amicable relations between his own country and Great Britain.

Although the fascinating details of his rise in the business world are not to be discussed here, some reference to Peabody's main pursuit in life is necessary in order to describe the social life of this nineteenth century American.¹ The very nature of his business both fostered his ties with the land of his birth and gave him an international outlook. After Peabody's youth and early apprenticeship in New England he had gone to the District of Columbia and then to Baltimore, Maryland, in search of opportunity. There he had become a partner of Elisha Riggs in a dry goods importing firm and it was

¹ Most of the material for this article was gathered from the *George Peabody Papers* in the Essex Institute. The pages on the business career of Peabody are summarized from the author's *George Peabody, Merchant and Financier, 1829-1854* (unpublished thesis, Radcliffe College, 1939).

to buy stock for Riggs, Peabody and Company that he first went abroad. For the next ten years the function of purchasing cottons, woolens, silks, linens and even bonnets, hose, gloves, umbrellas and veils, kept Peabody traveling in Great Britain and France. Occasionally he visited Baltimore to look over American affairs in general and in particular to consider the progress of his firm which in 1829 became Peabody, Riggs and Company. As the business grew, however, young partners joined the prosperous importing house and the long ocean voyages were then undertaken, along with many of the details of purchasing, by the new junior members. After a February crossing in 1837, with Peabody's usual seasickness made more miserable by the oppressing business worries of that unhappy year, he did not visit the United States for two busy decades.

It was in these twenty years that this man of modest economic origin accumulated the foundations of a large fortune. Even by 1837 the less than one hundred thousand dollars, which Peabody possessed when he first went to England, had increased to almost a third of a million.² Tailor bills bear testimony to the fact that this rising young man must have cut quite a handsome figure on his visit to the United States in 1836-1837. The next few years of depression, 1837-1843, were most trying ones, but his business acumen, sound credit and excellent reputation helped Peabody to weather the storm. The very difficulties and lack of confidence of the time opened new opportunities to this optimist with faith in the future of the United States.

In Peabody's life the period 1837 to 1843 marked his evolution as a merchant banker. The start was modest. Many large well-established houses, such as Baring Brothers and Company of London, and Brown, Shipley and Company of Liverpool, performed the services of floating loans for American states and companies, of opening credits for American merchants, of handling consignments of goods and in other ways serving correspondents inter-

² *Peabody Papers*, Will dated October 27, 1827; George Peabody's estimate of his wealth, January, 1837.

ested in international trade and finance. After the failure of several Anglo-American merchant bankers in 1837, however, openings for new firms appeared and some of Peabody's friends in Maryland asked him to perform functions for them. The first large task undertaken by him came at an unfortunate time. He marketed the Maryland bonds, which were issued to finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, just before the apparent recovery of 1838-1839 flickered out.

The next few years were not easy ones for an American in international business in London. One American state followed another in default of interest and even repudiation until the total in arrears numbered nine. For some years even sound states like Pennsylvania and Maryland failed to make payments. It was embarrassing for Peabody to meet on the street a trusting British investor to whom he had sold Maryland bonds. At dinners the subject of default by American states hurt the pride of a business man of sound principles. Even though two members of Parliament proposed Peabody for membership in the Reform Club, it appeared best under the circumstances to withdraw his name.

Furthermore, Peabody had his own personal financial troubles. The dry goods business, in which some of his energy and capital continued to be invested, was having its troubles. After the rapid expansion of the early 1830's it was facing a reduced market in the United States and tightened credit conditions in its usual English source of supply. In addition, Peabody, eager to acquire wealth for what he then hoped would be an early retirement, had purchased a considerable amount of American securities on margin. His own business troubles, coupled with his concern over American credit, made the period of the early 1840's a very difficult one in Peabody's life. A remark made at that time was typical of his business philosophy. To his pessimistic partner in Baltimore, Samuel Riggs, he wrote: "It is, however, useless to complain or regret the past, but when misfortune besets you, use all the means which God has given you to escape, and

avoid for the future the course which brought you into the situation.”³

Peabody had need of this same philosophy in later depressions, but in the prosperous years he also made use of his own advice without falling into a policy of inaction. He had learnt some expensive lessons about handling securities, but he had gained valuable experience as well. In the next few years he became an important adventurer in American stocks and bonds and his transactions met with spectacular success. There were several reasons for his good fortune. His business contacts were many and the information from these associates, including W. W. Corcoran of Corcoran and Riggs of Washington, D. C., was a significant factor. Perhaps even more important was his confidence in American securities at a period when many investors were most gloomy about the economic future of the United States. Writing to a fellow countryman in England in 1844, Peabody remarked, “You and I will, I trust, see that happy day, when as formerly, we can own ourselves Americans in Europe, without a blush for the character of our Country.”⁴ He himself worked for the rehabilitation of American credit, especially in Maryland, where his influence was important because of his own years of residence in Baltimore.

The size of his operations and his relations with English brokers also contributed to his success as a dealer in securities. At this time there was no organized market for American stocks and bonds in London. The quotations of brokers in the newspapers could not be accepted as representing real prices and Peabody’s willingness to buy and sell large quantities of American securities, by providing a reliable market, filled a real need. By paying the brokers the full brokerage while many tried to save on these commissions to middlemen, he cultivated their coöperation, and gifts of Boston crackers and apples helped to cement these pleasant business relations.

³ *Peabody Papers*, George Peabody to Samuel Riggs, January 3, 1842.

⁴ *Peabody Papers*, George Peabody to W. S. Stell, January 4, 1844.

Peabody's new office in Throgmorton Street became the scene of many a large offer. A letter written on May 19, 1848, testified to both the size of Peabody's operations and the soundness of his credit. To Samuel Riggs he wrote:

I have the principal controul of the market & buyers & sellers come to me which gives me great advantages — at least Ten Millions of dollars of various American Stocks have passed through my hands within the last 5 years bought or sold by myself. — I have always on hand half a Million, but it is now over 2 years since I have borrowed a pound on any American or other security & for the future mean to so manage my business to avoid it.⁵

In the meantime the general merchant banking business operated by Peabody had grown. He had severed his connections with the dry goods firm of Peabody, Riggs and Company and between 1844 and 1847 had a partnership with the New York house of Wetmore and Cryder. This relationship developed his business of granting short-term credits to American merchants, especially to those interested in trade with China and South America. The shipment of Indian corn to famine torn Ireland was another large branch of the business of these partners. Later Peabody entered into the field of handling new issues of American securities. Friendship with his first partner, Elisha Riggs, had led to association with the latter's son, George Washington Riggs. When Corcoran and Riggs engaged in marketing the Mexican war loans, Peabody took an active part in the European end of these transactions. His name being joined with that of the well-established bankers, Baring Brothers and Company, in this operation also enlarged Peabody's reputation.

In spite of growing success in business Peabody continued to write of his expectations of an early retirement, but his friends urged him to establish his firm on a more permanent basis. After the failure of several houses in the difficulties of 1837, few prominent Ameri-

⁵ *Peabody Papers*, George Peabody to Samuel Riggs, May 19, 1848.

can business houses had been left in London. There was a demand for a merchant banking house in London operated by Americans to serve Americans and it was to fill this need that Peabody organized George Peabody and Company at the end of 1851.

Peabody had more than a dozen years of active business life ahead of him, but he now had others to take an increasing number of details off his shoulders. In January, 1852, C. C. Gooch, a valued clerk, became a junior partner. Finally, in 1854 Peabody was happy to announce that he had found the "American of standing & business talent" for whom he had been searching. Junius Spencer Morgan of Boston joined the house of George Peabody and Company. It continued the "American Banking and Commission Business; paying particular attention to American Securities, Foreign Exchange, and the Granting of Credits — the purchase and sale of Railroad Iron — and Merchandize generally."⁶ The head of this established house now had more leisure to give to his general interests.

For a quarter of a century in England Peabody had devoted most of his attention to his prosperous and growing business. He worked about ten hours a day in the busy 1840's; he often worked evenings and even Sundays off were more occasional than he wished. Good health had obviated the necessity of his taking any absences from his office on that account. In fact, in 1851 he reported to a friend that he had not been absent from the office two consecutive business days in twelve years and he had not been over a hundred miles from London in six. As Peabody advised an acquaintance: "According to my experience & opinion, no man can be very successful in business unless his mind is wholly devoted to it not only at his Counting House but at his fire side and on his pillow."⁷

In spite of this busy existence Peabody's life during

⁶ *Peabody Papers*, Circular of George Peabody and Company, October 2, 1854.

⁷ *Peabody Papers*, George Peabody to Thomas Moreau, May 25, 1849.

this period was not devoid of agreeable social contacts. The full business days themselves offered many such occasions. Conversations at the North and South American Coffee House were part of the busy day. In 1844 George Peabody moved his office from 31 Moorgate Street to No. 6 Warnford Court, Throgmorton Street. Situated near the Stock Exchange in the heart of the financial city of London, Peabody was easily accessible to other business men. In earlier days he had traveled miles through England's manufacturing districts to purchase dry goods and old friends from these roving days would drop in for a visit when in London. Peabody's daily dealings brought him in constant touch not only with London brokers but also with American business men who visited the financial centre of the world to secure credit for commercial undertakings or for the purpose of floating bonds to finance larger enterprises. The conversations and letters over business deals brought Peabody information and interests much wider than the cold statistics of a balance sheet at first suggest.

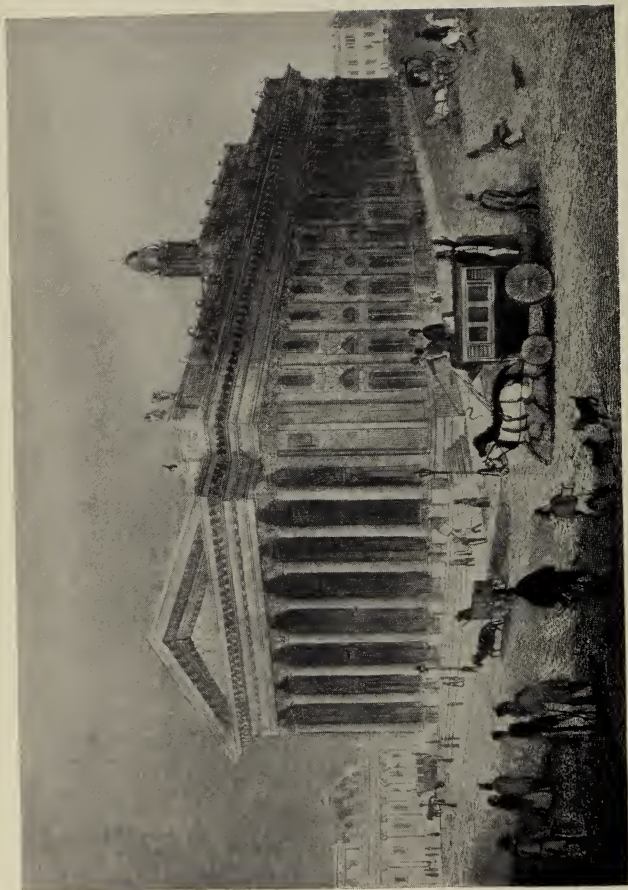
While Peabody had little time for pleasure during these years, apart from that which he undoubtedly gained from his busy life in the city, references in his letters indicate that he was a pleasing companion, and that he found opportunities to relax in his bachelor quarters after a rushed day. While not averse to female society, the young American had been too busy getting ahead and helping his family to marry early. In 1839 happy letters testified to an anticipated marriage to a young American woman who was visiting England; but the affair ended in a broken engagement. George Peabody, now settled in London, decided to share a bachelor domicile at 11 Devonshire Street, Portland Place, with the tall Bostonian commission merchant, Ezra Coates. The crisis of 1847 was to bring to an end the business relations between these two Americans and to cause misunderstandings which broke up a personal friendship of many years, but prior to that date the two New Englanders had a pleasant existence together. A long day would be ended

with rump steak and ale, and perhaps friends would visit for a rubber of whist. Letters written later by a colorful English companion, Richard Bell, referred with nostalgia to evenings shared with these bachelors in London. Coates would be stretched lazily on a couch while Richard Bell and the patriotic American, George Peabody, sipped the latter's "superb" sherry and entered into lively, although friendly, debate on the Maine boundary or some other international subject of interest to these merchants. At other times the bachelors entertained more extensively and on one occasion Peabody wrote to a friend in America about the party at which he and Ezra Coates were to entertain "all the respectable Americans in London . . . about 40."⁸

In the 1850's Peabody's personal social life was expanded. Although for some years he continued to work a long day, he occasionally escaped from his office for a trip or because his gout and rheumatism, which were to be the ailments of his old age, demanded it. He was accustomed in the morning to leave his club chambers at 15 Regent Street and to ride to the City in an omnibus. Although he worked evenings in busy periods, there is much more reference to club life. In 1844 he had not been taken into the Reform Club. Now an American in London was in a very different position. Peabody reported with pride his membership in the Parthenon Club where he enjoyed his whist. He was the first American apart from diplomatists to become a member of the Star Club and he also joined other clubs. A business relationship with Duncan, Sherman and Company of New York contributed to pleasant relaxation. The wealthy senior partner of the house in America, Alexander Duncan, was a Scotchman and visits to the north coupled with grouse shooting were much enjoyed by Peabody.

With more leisure and enhanced position Peabody welcomed other Americans to London. He was on very friendly terms with Abbott Lawrence during his period

⁸ *Peabody Papers*, George Peabody to Peabody, Riggs and Company, May 18, 1843.



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON, ENGLAND

About 1850

Peabody's statue is at the left of this building

as Minister at the Court of St. James's. James Buchanan, when he filled the same office, was also a personal friend. Well-known American visitors to England called upon him, including members of the Peabody family of Salem, Charles Hale, then editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Chief Justice Shaw of Massachusetts, and Millard Fillmore, formerly President of the United States. To one who wished to make George Peabody and Company a centre of American news and business a ready personality and sociability were distinct assets. However spontaneous were his gifts of American apples, hominy or some other delicacy from the United States, his generousities were quite reasonably tied up with his business interests. Many American merchants returning to the United States wrote letters of thanks for kindness shown and newspaper men were grateful for attention given. Private travelers, who with improved transportation visited the British Isles in increasing numbers, brought letters of introduction to George Peabody. W. W. Corcoran once commented that his friend must find so many letters troublesome but added that the banker had himself to blame for becoming a "national man."⁹ Peabody gained the reputation of entertaining every American who arrived with a letter of credit on his house. How true this is it is difficult to ascertain. At any rate, Peabody did provide social life for many and in July, 1855, he remarked that he had entertained eighty Americans for dinner and thirty-five at the opera within a week. The same attention to detail which had helped to make him a prosperous business man contributed to the success of these social occasions. A large corsage for the lady, added to tickets to the opera, would bring a letter from an American testifying to his real gratitude for these personal attentions an ocean's width from home.

Peabody combined the satisfaction of his delight in large entertainments with a deeper desire. He always had been interested in forwarding amicable relations be-

⁹ *Peabody Papers*, W. W. Corcoran to George Peabody, May 31, 1853.

tween Americans and Englishmen. It is true that even from a narrower personal point of view peaceful relations between the United States and Great Britain were important to him. The trouble over the Maine boundary had caused him concern and the dispute over Oregon had disturbed his commercial and financial affairs even though he himself had absolute confidence in the eventually peaceful outcome. When faith in American credit was so low in the 1840's, Peabody not only found social life made difficult with recurring references to defaulted bonds but he also experienced personal problems with credit in the London money market. In addition to his own self-interest there was something much broader involved. The trade between the two countries was important and the United States depended on Great Britain for capital. Lack of smoothness in political relations between them hindered the flow of this necessary factor for the development of the United States. Moreover, quite apart from any economic aim, personal or broader, Peabody was interested in amicable relations between these two countries. His ancestors had come from England, he had come from New England; years of life and friendship in both countries made him eager for peaceful and coöperative relations between these two nations and he endeavored to forward this friendship in several ways.

The first occasion when a social act of Peabody's was to have international publicity was the event of the Crystal Palace Exhibition. England was excited over this exposition which was to display, among other things, the mechanical improvements which had been and were changing the industrial life of England and were already influencing the economic activities of many other countries. The mechanical ingenuity of Americans was to be displayed with that of the residents of older countries, but the American commissioner to the exhibit found himself embarrassed. Congress had not seen fit to make sufficient appropriations to provide the funds to equip the section which was to display the American wares. It was natural that he should appeal to George Peabody, an



MENU OF INTERNATIONAL DINNER GIVEN IN HONOR OF THE AMERICANS CONNECTED WITH
THE CRYSTAL PALACE EXHIBITION, 1851

From the Peabody Papers in possession of the Essex Institute

American himself, and one interested in coöperation with the British. Several early accounts of Peabody's life refer to his gift on the occasion of the Crystal Palace Exhibition. As a matter of fact, the £3,000 was a loan, but so much time and influence was necessary before the debt was paid that Peabody himself might have thought of considering it among the many contributions which he made at this period. This loan made it possible for American industrial art to be exhibited and the newspapers wrote enthusiastically of the McCormick reaper, the Colt revolver, Hoe's printing press, Hobb's unpickable lock and Bond's spring governor. Hiram Powers, whose "Greek Slave" was exhibited, had himself been aided by Peabody in many ways.

Although his financial aid was opportune for the American exhibitors, it was George Peabody's first July 4th entertainment in London which was considered important enough to have mention in the brief financial review of the whole year in the *London Times*. Peabody had written to many business and personal friends recommending that they travel to England to see this world's fair. "To see the buildings alone is worth a voyage across the Atlantic," he wrote to his old friend, Elisha Riggs.¹⁰ Steamboats had for over a decade made the trip across the Atlantic pleasant and short enough to attract more travelers. The Cunard steamers were carrying many passengers. The American Collins line was seeking to gain a greater share of the business and in 1851 was able to break the record when the *Pacific* crossed in nine days and twenty hours. George Peabody decided to give a grand social event to entertain several of the prominent Americans who had come to England that summer. To make the affair an American event he scheduled it for July 4th; to give it international significance he invited both visitors from the United States and prominent Englishmen. Friends feared that because of its significance the date chosen was not one to stimulate the happiest of memories

¹⁰ *Peabody Papers*, George Peabody to Elisha Riggs, April 17, 1851.

or the most pleasant relations. George Peabody had given this matter his usual attention to detail. He invited the aged victor of Waterloo and loyal Englishmen did not wish to refuse an invitation which the patriot, the Duke of Wellington, was willing to accept. That the event caught the public fancy is indicated by the large and friendly newspaper reports at that time.¹¹

Similar international entertainments provided by George Peabody continued to be part of the social life of London in the decade before the Civil War. On only one occasion did an unpleasantness occur. The details of this old social blunder are unimportant now, but when in 1854 the Secretary of the American Legation, D. S. Sickles, refused to stand for the toast to the Queen, newspapers of two nations were full of comment and so exaggerated were some of the accounts that Peabody was compelled to write open letters to the press. On the whole the newspapers had nothing but good to say of these attempts at forwarding pleasant relations by social contacts between American visitors and the English. The elaborate menus and programs indicate that these affairs must have been social successes also.

Although Peabody was given much publicity because of his entertainments, it was neither because of his business success nor his social activity that he became so internationally famous in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was as a philanthropist that he was to be best known. Although careful and shrewd in his business dealings, Peabody always had been generous toward his sisters, brothers and their children. His support had extended beyond these limits and lists of contributors to hospitals and other organizations testify to the fact that he gave his share to the support of many worthy causes. In 1849 he had remarked to a friend that he was "almost tired of making money without having time to spend and enjoy it."¹² With increased wealth and advancing age

¹¹ See especially, *The Newcastle Journal*, July 26, 1851; *The London Times*, January 1, 1852.

¹² *Peabody Papers*, George Peabody to William S. Wetmore, August 24, 1849.

he had more to give and he devoted more thought to the disposal of his growing fortune. Since Peabody had no immediate heirs, he provided a large trust for his collateral relatives and gave much of his fortune to charity.

There were several facts about Peabody's philanthropy that caused it to be highly publicized. He made several large gifts to found institutions which were to perpetuate his name. These alone totalled about \$6,000,000. More unusual at that period was the fact that years before his death Peabody established trusts which were to be used during his lifetime and not merely as philanthropic bequests. This was unusual enough in that age to call forth comment. Sir James Emerson Tennett of the Board of Trade in Great Britain, writing to Peabody concerning the establishment of one large trust in London, remarked on "the unprecedented novelty of such a gift as yours *during your life time*. Such a case appears never to have arisen before."¹³

As an American Peabody made many of his large gifts to found institutions in the United States. Most of these were to forward one of his great interests, education. Peabody had had but little formal training himself and his own pleasantly clear style of writing had been achieved through his own effort. He aided many of his nephews through college and it was to one of these he wrote:

Deprived, as I was, of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most *common education* I am *well qualified* to estimate its value by the *disadvantages* I labour under. . . . I can only do to those that come under my care, as I could have wished circumstances had permitted others to have done by me.¹⁴

Among the large gifts which he made were several to aid education in New England. On the occasion of the centennial of Danvers, Peabody, who was unable to attend, sent a letter to be opened at the dinner. It con-

¹³ *Peabody Papers*, Sir James Emerson Tennett to George Peabody, July 23, 1862.

¹⁴ *Peabody Papers*, George Peabody to George Peabody, May 18, 1831.

tained \$20,000 and the comment that it was for "Education — A debt due from present to future generations."¹⁵ Later further sums of money were added and these trusts made possible lecture series in Essex County, the libraries at Peabody and South Danvers and the Peabody Academy of Science at Salem. The gift of books and other aids also were received by his native county. Both Harvard and Yale Universities received sums to forward science, a branch of knowledge in which Peabody was very interested, in part because of the enthusiasm of his young nephew, Othniel Charles Marsh.

For many years Peabody had lived in Maryland and to repay Baltimore for its friendliness and his real business beginnings he contributed the trust for the Peabody Institute, Baltimore. By 1857 the plans for the building had been drawn up. The first trust of \$300,000, later to be enlarged to \$1,000,000, was given for the broad purpose of forwarding "the improvement of the moral and intellectual culture of the inhabitants of Baltimore, and, collaterally to those of the State; and also, towards the enlargement and diffusion of a taste for the Fine Arts." In his letter to the trustees Peabody expressed feelings which he often reiterated:

My earnest wish to promote, at all times, a spirit of harmony and good will in society; my aversion to intolerance, bigotry and party rancor, and my enduring respect and love for the happy institutions of our prosperous republic, impel me to express the wish that the Institute I have proposed to you, shall always be strictly guarded against the possibility of being made a theatre for the dissemination or discussion of sectarian theology or party politics; that it shall never minister, in any matter whatever, to political dissension, to infidelity, to visionary theories of a pretended philosophy which may be aimed at the subversion of the approved morals of society; that it shall never lend its aid or influence to the propagation of opinions tending to create or encourage sectional jealousies in our happy country, or which may lead to the alienation of the people of one State or section of the

¹⁵ *Centennial Celebration at Danvers, Mass.* (Boston, 1852), p. 142.

Union from those of another. But that it shall be so conducted, throughout its whole career, as to teach political and religious charity, toleration and beneficence, and prove itself to be, in all contingencies and conditions, the true friend of our inestimable Union, of the salutary institutions of free government, and of liberty regulated by law.¹⁶

The very sectional difficulties to which Peabody referred were soon to break out into the Civil War and it was to do his share in helping to heal the wounds which this conflict left that Peabody made one of his largest gifts. As he had expressed his feelings earlier:

An absence of 18 years from my native land has eradicated that party and sectional feeling which had some influence with me in early life, but has strengthened my interest in whatever affects the welfare or honor of the whole country.¹⁷

In 1867 he established the Peabody Education Fund and later increased the total to \$2,000,000, not including the gift of repudiated bonds of Mississippi and Florida on which even Southerners were unable to collect.¹⁸ This gift was made so soon after the Civil War that it caused William Lloyd Garrison to criticize Peabody bitterly.¹⁹ The fact that it was one of the first moves of a Northerner to help the South was in itself significant. It not only aided an important field for rehabilitation, education, but it also was an illustration of friendship. Moreover, the trustees chosen by Peabody to administer the fund were drawn from both North and South and even General U. S. Grant found himself working on a mutual problem with men from the Carolinas and Maryland.

Although Peabody had contributed generously to various charities in England, it was not until 1862 that he

¹⁶ *Letter from George Peabody, Esq., to the Trustees for the Establishment of an Institute in the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1857).

¹⁷ *Peabody Papers*, George Peabody to Editor of the *Boston Post*, August 16, 1854.

¹⁸ J. L. M. Curry, *A Brief Sketch of George Peabody, and a History of the Peabody Education Fund through Thirty Years* (Cambridge, 1898).

¹⁹ See article by William Lloyd Garrison, *The Independent*, August 19, 1869.

arranged for his large philanthropy in the country which for so many years had been his home. In this case his gift took a different turn to that of his contributions to various educational institutions in the United States. Just how Peabody became interested in improving the housing of the poor of London is not clear. Employing only a few clerks himself, he did not come into close contact with laboring men and their problems in his working days. There was, however, much in the literature of the time and in the agitation of reformers to awaken interest in the lot of the poor. Peabody knew London well and must have remarked the same wretched housing conditions about which Charles Dickens wrote. The cholera epidemic of 1848-1849 had aroused public attention to the menace to health engendered by slum conditions. *The Builder*, edited by George Godwin, had many articles on the problem and commented on the interest of the Prince Consort in improved housing. The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury was active in Parliament, and steps in reform, such as the Common Lodging-House Acts of 1851, were in the news. The Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes had enlisted the support of merchants and bankers and Peabody's collection of pamphlets indicates that he was following its activities. Whatever it was that stimulated Peabody's interest, it occasioned his largest single gift. In 1862 the original trust of £150,000 was established and it was later enlarged to £500,000.²⁰ Even before his death many were living in Peabody Dwellings and the growth of the fund has provided homes for an increasing number of the poor. In the summer of 1939 about 25,000 Londoners, housed by the Peabody Donation Fund, had reason to remember the generosity of this nineteenth century American.

These gifts added to Peabody's reputation. During his lifetime, as well as after his death, the newspapers devoted a good deal of space to him. Even as early as his visit to

²⁰ *The Governors of the Peabody Donation Fund, Charter of Incorporation*, December 14, 1900.



MINIATURE OF QUEEN VICTORIA, PRESENTED BY HER TO GEORGE PEABODY

Now in the Peabody Institute, Peabody

Courtesy of the Peabody Historical Society

the United States in 1856 he had become a famous American. After an absence of about twenty years he made what was almost a triumphant tour of the country. In his native town of Danvers an enthusiastic celebration was arranged to welcome him back. The *New York Times* had its usual friendly comments to make. Even James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald*, who on occasion made remarks hurtful to Peabody, stated that the reception in Danvers was important enough in news value to justify the expenditure of between \$200 and \$300 for remitting 3,800 words by telegraph. The headings and five and one-half columns of an issue of this paper devoted to Peabody were such as few successful bankers have been accorded in moments of popular acclaim.²¹

It was natural that growing popularity, coupled with gratitude for his gifts, should bring Peabody many honors. Peabody refused a baronetcy, an act in keeping with his policy of remaining an American, but he asked Queen Victoria for a portrait. The miniature which she presented to him is now housed in the Peabody Institute, Peabody. Before his death to do him honor a statue of Peabody, made by the American sculptor, William Wetmore Story, was erected by the side of the Royal Exchange, London. There were many other marks of recognition, including membership in societies, a medal from Congress and the honorary degree of D. C. L. from Oxford University. His effort to forward peaceful international relations and his philanthropy were to cause Peabody to be praised by men as different as Edward Everett, W. E. Gladstone, Victor Hugo and Louis Blanc. A statue in Baltimore similar to that in London serves as a reminder of the philanthropist in the city where he was an importer. The voting which decided the placing of his bust in the Hall of Fame, New York, many years after his death, ranked him fifteenth among Americans to have that honor.

After retirement from active business in 1864 Peabody

²¹ *The New York Times*, October 25, 1856; *The New York Herald*, October 10, 11, 1856.

was to have five years in which to dispose of his fortune and to enjoy the retirement which he had once planned to take a quarter of a century earlier. His health was failing. While he found pleasure in visits to his native land, he suffered much from gout and rheumatism and he often went to the European continent in search of relief at baths. Then in the summer of 1869 he visited the United States for the last time. In the autumn he returned to England, a sick man, to stay with an old Vermont friend, now Sir Curtis Lamson, at 80 Eaton Square. The *London Times* reported closely the health of the great American philanthropist and Queen Victoria herself sent word expressing her sympathy. On November 4, 1869, Peabody died in London.

The simple epitaph on a stone in Westminster Abbey gives the bare facts about a dramatic international funeral. Placed just a few feet from the spot where later the Unknown Soldier was buried, it reads:

Here
were deposited
from Nov. 12 to Dec. 11
1869

The remains of
George Peabody
Then removed to his native country
and buried at Danvers now Peabody
in Massachusetts

I have prayed my Heavenly Father Day by Day
That I might be enabled before I died to shew my gratitude
For the blessings which he had bestowed upon me
By doing some great good to my fellowmen.

Let your light so shine before men
That they may see your good works
And glorify your Father
Which is in Heaven.

The funeral procession and ceremony in Westminster Abbey had all the color and pomp of the Victorian era. General Gray represented the Queen. W. E. Gladstone and the Lord Mayor of London, as well as the American Minister at the Court of St. James's and former business



GEORGE PEABODY IN LATER LIFE

From a photograph made in London about 1860, now in possession of the Essex Institute

associates of Peabody, were there to do him honor. Peabody had expressed his wish to be buried in Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, and a few days after his death the Cabinet signified the desire of the British government to carry Peabody's remains home in a ship of the Royal Navy. The President of the United States ordered an "American vessel of War," the corvette *Plymouth*, to act as convoy to Her Majesty's turret-ship. When the *Monarch* in naval mourning of French gray left Portsmouth, it carried the body of an American, who although a private citizen, was to be buried while one of Queen Victoria's sons, Prince Arthur, stood beside the grave in Massachusetts on a stormy winter's day of 1870.

After over forty years abroad George Peabody was buried in his native county. During the years in London he had made a fortune and established an international banking house which was to be developed further by Junius Spencer Morgan and his family. At the same time, Peabody had become well known for his kindness to Americans visiting England and for his efforts to improve the relations between Great Britain and the United States. His reputation was enhanced by his philanthropy during his declining years. A native son abroad who showed by his gifts that he remembered New England, a Northerner who gave generously to forward Southern education soon after the Civil War, an American who gave lavishly to provide low cost housing for the poor of London, he attained fame in his own age. George Peabody always remained an American, but his social outlook was as broad and international as his business.

TWO VOYAGES OF THE SHIP *DERBY*.

BY HENRY WYCKOFF BELKNAP.

FIRST VOYAGE.

The Pickmans established one of the greatest commercial houses of Salem, and the *Derby*, built by Enos Briggs, west of the Naumkeag Mills, between Peabody and Harbor streets, was one of their early nineteenth century vessels.

In May, 1803, Enos Briggs began work on a 300-ton ship for Benjamin Pickman, Jr., Timothy Williams, Boston, and Dudley Leavitt Pickman, a nephew of Benjamin Pickman, Jr. By October first she was ready for registry and Thomas West had been appointed her master, with Dudley L. Pickman as super-cargo.

From the Pickman Papers in the Essex Institute and the logs of her two voyages much information can be extracted.

Her dimensions were, length 93½ feet, beam 27 3/12, draught 13 1/12 feet. Briggs was a builder of much reputation. He was born in Pembroke, Massachusetts, came to Salem to build the *Grand Turk* for Elias Hasket Derby, and continued here in business. The contract price for the hull was \$16 per ton and by the 6th of June she had progressed far enough for her builder to receive a payment of \$1000, followed by \$500 June 25th and \$500 more July 2nd.

Sam Jefferds received \$1161.42 for "composition work," that is, "Spikes, Bolts, Deck Nails and Sheathing Nails." Between June 21st and October 24th, Page and Ropes furnished hardware to the value of \$507.46, Stephen Webb cordage amounting to \$564.81. Beside this last item, Timothy Williams charged the ship for cash paid sundry people to the amount of \$4083.30, the largest items being J. P. Davis \$2400 for cordage, and Daniel Tucker \$769.50 for copper bolts. Joshua Goodale received \$421.78 for four anchors, weighing 4282 pounds. Her set of charts from Henry Chapman of Boston at 33 State Street cost \$100. William Pickman bought 5641

pounds of copper for the ship at 45c a pound or \$2538.45. Dudley L. Pickman's account, October 18th, of advances made to about forty people was for \$2710.38. Seth Brooks furnished various fittings for \$189, Joseph Howard sails for \$312.24, Joseph Barker \$325 for Ravens Duck, Thomas Farlis \$214.08 for "riging the Ship," Isaac Needham \$381 for bread. Joseph Gardner put aboard 704 pounds of live pigs, 3 dozen "old fowles," 4 dozen ducks and 1 dozen "young fowles" for \$90.82. Pumps and blocks supplied by Joseph Felt cost \$199.97 and joiner work by Joshua Oakes, \$355. Hawkes & Babbidge's bill for masts and spars was \$621.99, Edward S. Allen for Ravens Duck, \$202.56, Joseph Waters for "hog pork" and "Mess dito" \$172. William Stickney for cordage \$461.25, Archer & Andrew for provisions, flour, molasses, &c. \$132.50, William Marston for more pork \$105.86, Pickering Dodge for brandy, "sheger" (viz. sugar) and coffee \$100.83. Lastly the bill of Enos Briggs for the ship herself, dated October 10, 1803, and paid for in full five days later, \$6541.70, of which eight partial payments, amounting to \$5000, had been advanced as the work proceeded. The 284-ton hull at \$16 per ton came to \$4544. Samuel McIntire did \$50 worth of carving, probably the figure-head, and sent his bill October 3d.

Recapitulation brings a total of \$25,672.90, but only the major items have been included and there are sundry minor costs which would probably add several thousand dollars, so she cost roughly \$30,000 fully equipped and provisioned.

On October 15th a bill of lading was signed for 35 kegs containing \$70,000 in specie for account of the ship-pers, from Salem to the East Indies, the property of the owners of the ship, "B. Pickman jr, Timothy Williams, Dudley L. Pickman." Their shares were, respectively, 4/8ths, 3/8ths, and 1/8th.

On October 17th a letter was presented by the owners to Captain Thomas West, part owner and super-cargo:

Sir:—

The ship *Derby* being under your command and ready for sea you will proceed direct for the Isle of Bourbon without

stopping at any place, except for absolute necessity. On your arrival there you will receive further instructions from Mr Dudley L. Pickman whose directions throughout the voyage you are to consider as of the same effect as if given by ourselves and to be governed by them accordingly.

You are to receive fifty dollars p^r month Wages, and four tons Privilege which is considered as full compensation for your services on board & on shore.

The Cabin is considered as exclusively belonging to the owners who may fill so much of it with merchandise or stocks as they or their Supercargo may think best.

In case of the death of Mr Pickman you will take charge of the business and conduct it agreeably to our orders to him.

B. Pickman jr

Tim^o Williams

Dudley L. Pickman

Thomas West acknowledged the above to be a copy of his instructions and also appended is a note to:

Mr Thomas Downing:—

You being first mate of our ship *Derby*, Thomas West master, in case of accident happening to him, you will take charge of the ship & obey such instructions as you shall receive from Mr D. L. Pickman.

The same date is a letter to:

Mr Dudley L. Pickman:—

Sir:—

The ship *Derby*, Captain Thomas West of which you are part owner & sole super-cargo, now ready for sea: we have ordered him to proceed to the Island of Bourbon, where he will receive further instructions from you. A copy of his orders we enclose.

We hand you Invoices and bill of Lading of our Cargo which is seventy thousand specie Dollars with which you will procure a Cargo of Coffee at Bourbon at a price not exceeding fourteen and a half Dollars per Bale. But if you can only buy part of a Cargo then you will not give more than twelve and a half Dollars unless you have good reason to suppose that the Lading of the ship can be completed at Isle of France, at the price mentioned. After buying a Cargo you may invest any surplus stock in any other articles (to be shipped in your own or other American ship) which

you think may yield a profit; or you may take undoubted bills therefore on America.

Our idea on the whole is that if you procure a full cargo of Coffee, cotton &c at either place, you return home with whatever surplus stock may remain; and that you go not to the Isle of France unless you can do it with safety; and that you return home with even twenty thousand dollars uninvested.

But if this or the whole sum be not invested, you will then proceed to Calcutta and there lay out our funds in Benares or Bagga sugar of first Quality — Salt Petre — Ginger — or any other articles which in your opinion would afford a good profit, and in the following piece goods.

Beerboom & Catna, Gurnahs, Baftas of all Sorts, except Patna; Chandpore & Burpore Copas; Mousannas; Mugga, Jannap, Gudgopore & Jalabapore; Sannaks; Manickpore Gunaps; Panannoes, not exceeding 100 rupees per Corge; Chintees, 6 y'd pieces of a good texture & figure; Black Persians, of a good texture & figure & of a good black.

After these outlines of a voyage we leave the rest to your prudent management.

Before leaving port you will settle all your accts make out the Invoices & Bills Lading, have them signed and forward us Copies.

Be careful not to violate any laws of Trade or of Nations nor our Treaties, particularly those with France & Great Britain.

Make no Contracts to sell & deliver our Cargo to any persons whatever—we are willing to abide by the events of the voyage here designated.

If you return from the Isles of France or Bourbon, it will be to this port; if from Calcutta, to Boston.

As a full compensation for your services, and in lieu of all emoluments and privileges whatever, we agree to allow you four per cent of the Cargo you may bring from the Isles of France or Bourbon and five per cent if you proceed beyond those Islands & return.

* * *

We have shipped $2\frac{1}{2}$ Pipes madeira wine to be brought home—see that they are tight, and return a certificate of their being landed abroad.

* * *

I acknowledge the above to be copy of Orders this day

rec^d & I promise to execute the same to the best of abilities.

Dud L. Pickman

Four "orders" or agreements were signed at this time to pay to families of members of the crew from four to nine dollars a month while the ship was absent.

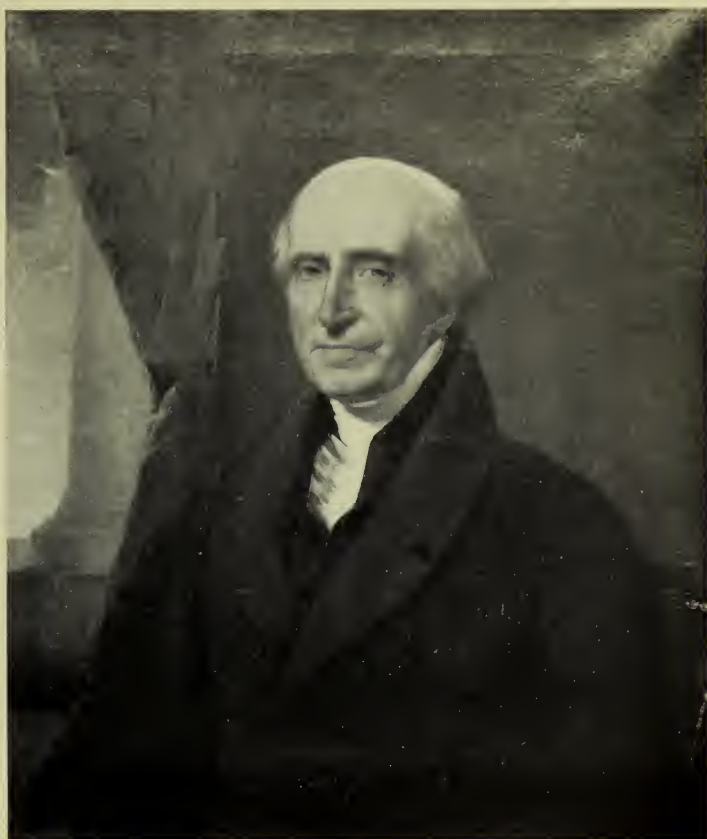
The Portledge Bills of the ship on her first voyage are as follows:

Times agreed to enter on board for duty	Station	Witnesses to their signing	Advance Wages	Wages per month	Privileges
1803					
Sept. 14	Thomas West	Master	50 Dolls	50 Dolls	4 tons
20	Thomas Downings	1st Mate	25 "	25 "	4 tons
20	Henry Massey	2d Mate	23 "	23 "	1½ tons
Oct. 17	Lemuel Phillips	Carpenter	22 "	22 "	12 cwt
10	John Brown	Able seaman	18 "	18 "	none
12	Phillip Crain	do.	18 "	18 "	"
10	Thomas Williams	do.	18 "	18 "	"
12	Thomas Moriarty	Ordinary "	15 "	15 "	6 cwt
12	Israel Phippen	Able	17 "	17 "	6 "
15	John Bickford	do.	18 "	18 "	none
12	James Mugford	do.	18 "	18 "	none
13	Alexr Johnson	do.	18 "	18 "	none
15	Samuel Cook	do.	17 "	17 "	6 cwt
17	John Todd	Ordinary "	13 "	13 "	6 cwt
17	John Jackson	Able	18 "	18 "	none
17	James Carroll	Cook	18 "	18 "	none
17	Israel Hector	Steward	17 "	17 "	6 cwt
			343 "	343 "	

(These men for the most part appear to be Salem men but a few names do not appear in the *Vital Records*.)

Thursday morning, October 20th, 1803, at eight o'clock the *Derby* sailed, "with a fine wind."

Dudley L(eavitt) Pickman's Journal in the Ship



BENJAMIN PICKMAN

1763 - 1843

From a portrait by Chester Harding, in possession of the Essex Institute

Derby from Salem to the Isles of Bourbon & France, thence to Calcutta & back to Salem (extracts only):

Set sail from Salem Oct. 20, 1803 (3), Make St. Anthony, Brava & Fogo (7), Make Trinidad & Martin vas Rocks (11), Make Tristan d'Acunha. Come to anchor at St. Denis in the Island of Bourbon (21), Beat up from Bourbon to the Isle of France (23), Set sail for Calcutta, came to anchor in Balasore Road, arrive at Calcutta (33).

Set sail from Calcutta for Boston (36), Make the land about Point Natal (45), St. Bras Mountains (47), Ascension (51), Get soundings on the coast of America, arrive at Boston (57).

Table of dates and mileage: 3. Oct. 20, 1803, 7. Nov. 14, 11. Dec. 8, 21. Jan. 31, 1804, 23. Feb. 14, 25. Feb. 18, 33. Apl. 5, 36. May 12, 45. Jul. 13, 47. Jul. 18, 51. Aug. 12, 59. Sep. 21, total mileage 14,583.

14 Nov. 1803 at Cape Verde Islands.

Arrived Isle of Bourbon (later called Reunion, one of the Mascarene group in the Indian Ocean) 31 Jan'y 1804.

Arriving at St. Denis in the Isle of Bourbon January 31, 1804, she picked up 76 Sacks of Cloves, 5007 lbs. and 58 Bales of Bourbon cotton, 12,306 lbs. at a cost of \$5326.78.

Mr. Pickman wrote on that date that the 102 days spent on voyage thither were caused by almost constant east winds, on only five days was there a change.

Arrived Isle of France 14 Feb'y 1804 (later Mauritius in the Indian Ocean).

Arrived 6 April 1804 Calcutta.

Sailed 21 May 1804.

On 8 Sep. 1804 at noon "a sail in sight, nearly ahead. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 found she was a Privateer—at 3 she gave us a Gun & hoisted French Colours. At 4 her Boat came on board—proved to be '*Le Colibro*' (?) from Bordeaux on a Cruise—22 Guns, 250 men—3 mo. out. Before night all our Officers & Crew were taken off, except the 2d Mate, Cook & Steward, of the ship left in possession of the Privateer's Officer & Crew during the night. After searching for concealed Papers or English Colours, & attempting in vain to bribe the Crew to "bear false witness"

against the Ship or Cargo, we were permitted at 8 A. M. to return on board & at 9 to proceed on our voyage.

He says during the last season American buyers had drained the market of coffee and as a consequence prices were very high for what was left. Cloves, however, were plentiful and he purchased 5000 cwt. The 58 Bales of Cotton were all he could get and they intended to proceed to Isle de France when the letter would be continued.

"The ship equals my expectations in every respect." The Log Book shows 222 miles in 24 hours steered *by the wind*—of 252 with the wind *abeam*. We had no opportunity of trying with the wind *abaft*—but we considered that our best sailing is with the wind a *side wind*.

They lost time getting away because of wind and weather but reach Port North West, Isle de France February 14th and two days later he continued his letter. Again prices, as he shows by a list, were very high, Bourbon coffee at $14\frac{3}{4}$ to 15 when he was limited to an extreme of $12\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per cwt. He tried to get some Java but could get only about 100,000 cwt. at $12\frac{1}{2}$ and this only on condition of taking 70,000 of pepper at 12 dollars and 50,000 Java sugar at 6 dollars. The person who made this offer had 500,000 coffee, but after two days consideration would sell no more of it.

Accordingly there only remains Calcutta and they hoped to sail the next day. They did sail the 18th of February and arrived April 5th.

The bill of lading dated May 7, 1804, shows that she took aboard 303 bales of piece goods (invoiced at \$84,010.76); 1600 bags of sugar (invoiced at \$28,060.72); 580 bags of ginger (invoiced at \$2551.02); and 28 boxes of gum copal (invoiced at \$1620.40). The cloves bought at Bourbon were sold here for £12,656:8:— and the piece goods for \$84,020.84.

May 12, 1804, some freight was received for various Boston people, the invoices amounting to £8275:5:1. It was shipped at 25% of net profits.

The ship incurred expenses of different kinds, including hospital charges for Philip Crain, one of the crew. The total was £3116:1:8.

They set sail for Boston on May 12th and arrived there September 21st, 1804, having travelled not far from 15,000 miles and been gone 11 months 1 day.

During October and the first week of November they were preparing for the second voyage on which they sailed November 6th, 1804. The master was still Thomas West and the supercargo was likewise Dudley L. Pickman. This time the ship was bound for Naples and Leghorn.

Memoranda are given of certain payments during the first voyage as follows:

October 2	To Am't paid during absence of	
	Ship on a/c Seamen's wages &c	263.12
	To Am't of bill for dockage at Derby Wharf	15.50
	To Am't paid seaman's wages—viz.	
	S. Cook	153.—
	T. Moriarty	137.—
	J. Jackson	109.85
	I. Phippen	101.70
	J. Cromwell	119.70
	J. Mugford	50.35
	J. Hector	139.86
		<hr/>
		811.46
		<hr/>
29	Am't paid Mr. D. L. Pickman	721.—
		<hr/>
		\$1811.58
	Supra Cr.	<hr/>
		1811.58
	By am't rec'd of Capt. Peabody for 120)	
	lbs copper bolts @ 45)	54.—
		<hr/>
	due on a/c voy. 1st	1757.58
		<hr/>
	Am't to the Cr of D. L. Pickman book	6.30
	Do. T. Williams	19.10
	To families of	
	J. Mugford 10 mo. @ \$9. per mo.	90.—
	J. Jackson 10 mo. @ \$5. “ “	50.—
	P. Crain	17.—

J. Cromwell	10 mo. @ \$6.	" "	60.—
J. Hector			37.—
			<hr/>
			\$254.—

The General Average account for expenses on account of the gale is dated at Naples March 26th, 1805, and the amount is \$1223.50.

SECOND VOYAGE.

Dudley L. Pickman's Journal from Boston to Naples, Canton and back in the ship *Derby*.

The ship *Derby* sailed from Boston on Tuesday Nov. 6, 1804 for Leghorn, passed south of the Western Islands & Dec. 2nd saw Cape Spartel, nothing of consequence having occurred during the passage. From meeting East Wind here we did not get through the Straits of Gibraltar till the 5th while in the Straits we spoke an English Letter of Marque Brig which informed us that the Yellow Fever prevailed at Leghorn, in consequence of which we determined to proceed for Naples instead of that place. Dec. 6 saw Cape de Gatte—10th saw the Islands of Sardinia & Galitia & Cape Blanc on the Barbary Coast. Dec. 12 saw Isle Ischia at the entrance of Naples Bay, when within 2 miles of this we were spoken by a Neapolitan Gov^t armed Brig and ordered to Gaeta to perform Quarantine, a new regulation lately adopted in consequence of the Yellow Fever prevailing in many of the Mediterranean ports. We accordingly made the best of our way for this place & arrived Dec. 15th. . . . (Gaeta) is fortified & has an excellent harbour. There is a Mole in which 8 or 10 vessels can lie. . . . Distance run from Boston to Gaeta 4520 miles.

We lay at Gaeta till January 3, 1805 when having obtained permission to proceed to Nizita (Nisida) to finish Quarantine of 28 days we sailed & the next day arrived at that place. Nizita is the usual Quarantine Ground of Naples & is about 4 miles from the City, in Summer it is probably safe, but in Winter is a vile place, particular for large vessels. From some difficulties respecting Quar-

antine we continued at Nizita, unloading part of our Cargo till Jan^y 20th when a most tremendous Gale of Wind commenced which continued with little intermission for five days, during which time most of the vessels were driven from their moorings—the *Derby* was run foul of by 6 or 7 vessels—lost her spars, Rigging &c. and suffered considerable damage in the Hull. She was on shore for 6 or 8 hours, & for 2 or 3 days was in hazard of total loss. Of 14 vessels which were here when the gale commenced 2 foundered at their Anchors, 3 were driven ashore and lost, 6 were considerably damaged & only 3 escaped without injury, & the 2nd Feb'y obtained *pratique* having been 50 days in Quarantine.

The 4th the ship was unloaded, hove down and thoroughly repaired. The outward Cargo was all sold at Naples.

March 26th left Naples for Leghorn, where we arrived the 30th. Continued here till April 9th when we sailed for Canton.

We left Leghorn with a fine East Wind which continued for 2 days, after which it came from the Westward for 7 days.

Passed between Corsica and the Islands of Majorca and Minorca and April 13 saw Majorca, fresh N.W. winds again. Apr. 23 abreast Cape de Gatt. Apr. 26th saw the Island of Alboran, this island is very low even & without trees, with reefs running out from the E. & W. parts $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile. It can be seen but little distance in the day time & must be very dangerous in the night. April 29th with a fine East Wind, passed through the Straits of Gibraltar keeping the Barbary Coast aboard—were spoken by a Tender to a Portuguese Frigate then in sight, cruising for Algerines. Several ships of War in sight on Gibraltar side, probably English.

Here the Daily Journal commences:

May 17, 1805 Saw Bonavista s.e. 4 miles.

Sep. 7, anchored at Macao. Leghorn to Macao
18,777 miles.

“ 8, at 6 P.M. got under way for Canton.

- Sept. 10, anchored at Whampoa, & set off for Canton in a Passage Boat.
- " 10-29 laying at Whampoa, where the ship experienced a violent Typhoon after which fine weather till
- Nov. 17 when another Typhoon came on, very violent, but not of long duration on
- " 29 weighed anchor, passed Bocca Tigris
- Dec. 11 In the Straits of Gaspar.
- " 14 Straits of Sunda.
- Jan. 22 1806 Have passed round the Cape (Good Hope)

Naples, the 27 Dec^o 1804

Benjⁿ Pickman J^r Esq^r

Sir:—

We profit of the present favourable opp^{ty} p. the United States Frigate the *John Adams* bound direct for America to inform you of the safe arrival at Gaeta (almost 50 miles to the westward of this port) of your Ship *Derby*, Capt West.

She has been ordered there to perform 28 days Quarantine which regulation has existed ever since the yellow fever got up to Leghorn. . . . We have likewise the pleasure to acquaint you that the *Derby's* Cargo is arrived to a pretty good Market at least better than that of Leghorn.

(The rest of the letter concerns prices current, &c.

Vallin, Routh & Co.

A week later, 29 December 1804, Filishi & Co. wrote Messrs. Pickman & Williams of the arrival of the ship, stating that the yellow fever was declining and reports concerning it were exaggerated, also reporting on the market conditions. This letter was sent by the ship *Mercury* via New York.

The letter of instructions to Captain West was dated November 2d, 1804, as follows:

The ship *Derby* under your command being ready for sea you will proceed with her directly for Leghorn, on your arrival there you will be directed in the further prosecution of your voyage by Mr Dudley L. Pickman part owner and supercargo of the ship whose instructions throughout the voyage are to be considered as if proceeding from ourselves.

For your services we are to pay you fifty dollars per

month, and allow you four tons privilege, which is to be considered as full compensation for your services on board and on shore.

In case of accident to Mr Pickman you will take charge of the property & be governed in the prosecution of your voyage by our instructions to Mr Pickman and such papers of his as you shall find. Should any thing occur to prevent his leaving Europe in the ship from India you will return home, and not proceed on the voyage.

Benj^a Pickman jun^r

Tim^o Williams

Duly acknowledged by Thomas West.

A letter to Dudley L. Pickman follows:

(The preamble is similar to that given on the first voyage.)

On your arrival at Leghorn endeavour to obtain correct information respecting the different mercantile houses at that place if you have reason to think that P. & A. Fellichi & Co. are as deserving of confidence, and will do your business as well as any of them, you will give them the preference.

With regard to the sale of the cargo . . . if you find the market good for the sale of the whole, or any considerable article of it, avail yourself of the benefit of it by an immediate sale, if not delay the sale. . . . As you sell your goods, invest the proceeds in Spanish Dollars for your cargo to the East Indies. . . .

. . . If you go to Calcutta, you will make up your stock to One hundred thousand Dollars. . . . If to Canton you will add to our funds, the sum of sixteen thousand Dollars . . . by drawing on Samuel Williams Esq. London or on ourselves.

. . . Our present opinion is, that having finished your business in the mediterranean (sic) you should proceed to Canton to purchase a return cargo—circumstances may seem to induce you to prefer Calcutta; particularly the season at which you may be able to leave the miditt^a but you will prosecute the voyage to canton, if not too late to go there by the regular passage. . . . Should you proceed to Calcutta, you will invest your specie in such articles as are best adapted to this market. If to Canton, in-such articles as are in most general use in Europe as well as in this Country. Whether from Calcutta or Canton you will return to this port.

In the transaction of our business in Europe, we agree to allow you there Seventy two hundred and fifty dollars, exclusive of the Comissⁿ paid to merchants there, and for expences necessarily attending the business—Should you proceed to Calcutta, we agree to pay you then the further sum of twenty five hundred dollars, for the sale of your dollars and investment of the proceeds. . . . If you go to Calcutta or Canton from the miditteranean, we have engaged to take freight for the following persons—viz.

To S. Higginson & Co.	say 15,000	Dolls.
N. C. Lee	15,000	"
J. Peabody	10,000	"
Sam ^l Cabot	5,000	"
S. P. Gardner	5,000	"
Wm Pickman & Wm. Sawyer 5000 ea.	10,000	"
Wallis & Tilden	5,000	"
David Sears	15,000	"
	<hr/>	"
	80,000	"

The terms are to be, Eleven per cent paid in Calcutta, free of commissions, to be invested in piece goods only at either place.

We are truly

Your friends and servants

B. Pickman jun^r

Tim^o Williams

If you should not be able to sell your Sugar or Coffee at a saving price at Leghorn . . . you have our permission . . . to proceed to any port *without* the streights . . . you shall think it will be for our interests.

Acknowledgement of above by

Dudley L. Pickman

Mr Dudley L. Pickman

Boston 5 Nov^r 1804

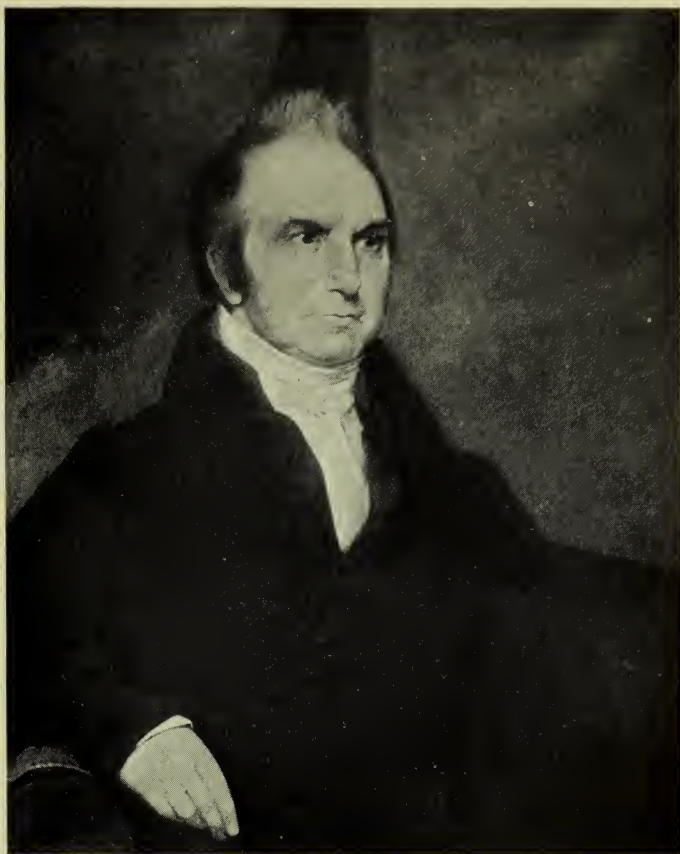
Sir:—

If you go to Canton, and arrive safe, we hereby authorize you to take up a credit for our joint account, to the amount of and not exceeding, thirty thousand dollars, provided, you can negotiate such a credit on favourable terms, invest it in suitable goods, and there be room in the ship.

In this event, you will carefully advise us, that we may make insurance.

B. Pickman Jun^r

T. Williams



DUDLEY LEAVITT PICKMAN

1779 - 1846

From a portrait by Chester Harding, in possession of Dudley Leavitt Pickman

Settlement of Charges on 2nd voyage outward of Ship Derby, T. West, for Europe—Sailed 6th Nov^r 1804.

To Timothy Williams am't of his a/c	2805.64
“ D. L. Pickman do.	464.82
“ B. Pickman Jun ^r do.	1383.07
	<hr/>
	4653.53

(the shares were $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{3}{8}$)

The cargo outwards was	
1599 bags of Sugar	28060.72
8 boxes of Gum Copal	448.40
10 bales of Beerpore Cossah	3900.—
100 bags of Ginger	420.—
200 bales of nankins	17400.—
250 bales of Coffee	7667.27
19 tierces of Coffee	3149.72
39 Hhds 37 Bbls of Mg/ne Clay ^d Sugar	5985.03
27 “ 1 tierce & 95 bags of Coffee	10854.90
450 bales of Coffee	12555.04
(Value after deducting charges	83882.17

The above list differs somewhat from the Invoice dated Nov. 2, 1804, and for accuracy is given.

1599 bags of Sugar	clear of duties	33,672.86
39 hhds & 37 bbls of Sugar	“	4,940.66
19 tierces of Coffee	“	3,037.23
27 hhds of Coffee	“	4,802.76
95 bags of Coffee	“	4,996.62
708 bales of Coffee	“	20,135.70
100 bags of Ginger	“	705.60
10 bales of Beerpore Cossah		6,240.—
200 bales of nankeens		17,000.—
8 boxes of gum copal		784.70
		<hr/>
		96,316.13

From a memorandum there also appears to have been some 200 chests of tea.

The Portledge bill from Boston to Europe & India & back to her port of discharge was as follows:

Names	Stations	Time of Monthly Advanced be- Privi- entry wages fore sailing leges				
		Oct. 8	29	50 dolls	50 dolls	4 tons
Thomas West	Master	" 29	25	"	25	2½ tons
George Southword	1st Mate	Nov. 1	23	"	23	1½ tons
Henry Massey	2d "	" "	24	"	24	12 cwt quarterly
Lemuel Phillips	Carpenter	" 3	17	"	25	"
Alexander Johnson	Seaman	" 1	17	"	21	6 cwt
James Moriarty	do.	" 3	17	"	25	"
John Thompson	do.	" 1	17	"	17	6 cwt
Samuel Wood Junr	do.	" 3	17	"	25	"
William Walden	do.	" 3	17	"	30	"
Andrew Bord	do.	" 3	17	"	25	"
Joel Culver	do.	" 2	16	"	21	6 cwt
Benj ⁿ Henderson	do.	" "	17	"	25	"
John Beckford	—	" "	17	"	25	"
Benj ⁿ Swazey	—	" 2	19	"	19	"
James Crémwell	Cook	" 3	18	"	23	6 cwt 6 dolls pr mo
Francis Hector	Steward					
		328	"	"	\$408	4 do. "
					\$406	quarterly
					(sic)	

(Almost all of these men seem to have been from Salem although two names are not found in the *Vital Records*, seven, including the Master, had made the first voyage.)

The memorandum of bills paid for the ship and for outfits and stores, dated Nov. 6, 1804, gives the amounts of:

Ship 1172.—

Outfits 3481.24 \$4653.24

This includes Wm. Fabens's bill for flour 395.—
I. Needham, cash & cooperage
& trucking 131.81

BY HENRY WYCKOFF BELKNAP

Wm. Marston, pork & bacon	247.—
I. Richardson, beef	532.89
B. Deland, freit to Boston	64.85
Inspecting certificates	4.52
M. Wallis, carting nankins	4.—
I. Brooks, trucking	3.—

 \$1383.07

There are now included, in brief or in full, all papers dealing with matters up to the point of sailing and the supercargo's account of the voyage and storm. Following are such details as can be gathered as to repairs and so forth.

From Mr. Pickman's Journal there are certain extracts to be made to complete the story. This and certain papers which do not follow in strictly chronological order can best be inserted here.

Statement of General Average on Ship *Derby*, cargo and freight at Naples Jan^r 7, 1805.

Articles to contribute to general average.

	Ducats	grs
Ship & appurtenances valued at	\$20,000.—	24,400.—
Freight out	7,500.—	
Reduced freit (sic) of Goods landed before the Gale	1,850.—	
	5,650.—	
Wages, Provisions &c one third	1,883.—	4,695.74
	\$3,767.—	
B. Pickman jun ^r 4/8; T ^o Williams 3/8; D. L. Pickman 1/8		
Merchandize net proceeds	96,200.—	

Specie rec'd on board be- fore the gale	11,468.—	
	<hr/>	
	\$107,668.—	
Gross freight	68.73	
Freit rec'd from goods on board	7.10	
	<hr/>	
	61.83	6,183.— 101,485.—
Nath ^l C. Lee, merchandize exclusive of freight & commissions		16,534.—
Judah Hays & Abraham Tours do.		3,303.—
S. Higginson do.		2,084.—
Benja ⁿ Pickman jr. do.		1,283.—
do. for his children do.		3,140.—
Tim ^o Williams a/c D. L.		
Pickman 1/2	do.	11,168.—
Thomas West	do.	4,310.—
Value of the ship, Freight & Cargo previous to the gale at Naples		
	<hr/>	
	(\$137.841)	172,301.74
		<hr/>

(A long list of itemized
charges) (\$956.) 1,194.96

Subject to additional charges for assistance rendered at
Nisita during the gale by a ragusion boat & crew for
which an action is now pending in the Tribunal of Com-
merce at Naples & also for expenses in defending in said
suit cts

172,301 74/100 Ducats to contribute 119,96 is 0.69.35
per cent.

(endorsed on back of preceeding)

Salem May 18, 1807, pd. Bⁿ Pickman Jun^r

rec'd for a *general average* on Derby of the following
persons:

" of N. C. Lee's ad ⁿ	Dolls.	68.14
" " Judah Hays & A. Tours		13.20
" " Higginson & Co.		8.32

rec'd of T. W. & D. L. Pickman, $\frac{1}{2}$ ea.	44.67
and for partial loss on <i>Nankeens</i>	
“ “ N. C. Lee ad ⁿ	71.—
“ “ T. W. & D. L. Pickman, $\frac{1}{2}$ ea.	47.30
	<hr/>
	\$252.63
in add. rec'd of <i>B. M. J. office</i> for B. A. Jr.	
49 cents on 16,000 \$ (less 1%)	77.62
	<hr/>
	\$330.25

pd. by T. W's check)
May 18, 1807)

London, 29 Jan^r 1805

Mr Dudley L. (Pickman) Peikman (sic)

D^r Sir:—

Since the date of the preceeding I have had the pleasure to hear of your arrival on the 15th ult^o at Gaeta the quarantine of Naples, by a letter from Mess^{rs} Vallin, Routh & Co. of that City.

The Market was then nominally good, but I fear that other arrivals before you are released from Quarantine will reduce the prices.

Mess^{rs} Vallin & Co. had not then received my Letter (one word torn) and not knowing your destination they say nothing of dollars.

You will hear of a pacific overture from the french to this Government, and before you sail the result may not be known. You will aske the opinion of your Merchants or any judicious Persons at Naples before you sail. It appears to me that peace will not result from it this year.

Coffee is scarce in Europe, and keeps up in all Markets. at Mess^{rs} Vallin, Routh & Co.

Naples

(Yours &c
T^o Williams)

London, 5 Feb. 1805

Naples

Mr Dudley Pickman

D^r Sir:—

Since the preceeding of the 29th ult^o I have received yours of 21 Dec^r and Letters from Mess^{rs} Vallin & Co. & Filichi & Co. which assure me that you will be able to procure the Dollars wanted.

Your Drafts for a/c of B. Pickman Jr T. Williams, S. P. Gardner & S. Cabot for about the amounts you mention will be duly honoured.

Should any unexpected event defeat your India voyage, you would do well by coming here with Oil at the present price of £81 p. ton. Several arrivals might depress that price. Mess^{rs} Vallin can inform you best what articles from Naples & Sicily answer here.

I conclude that you will be able to prosecute the India voyage. I am told that madeira wine may probably answer in Bengal. If you are bound to that quarter and want more funds would it be advisable to stop at Madeira and take Wine for the Cost of which you might draw upon me at a long date.

I hope you will get the prices quoted for Coffee & Sugar at Naples, and for Nankeens &c^a at Leghorn. Nothing further as to peace.

Dolls 4/7 each
at Lisbon & that or more, scarce
Chez Vallin & Co.

Mr Dudley Pickman,

London, 15 March 1805

D^r Sir:—

Since the preceeding of the 5th I have received your letters of the 10 & 28 Jan^y the latter yesterday. I was very sorry to hear of the disaster the ship met with in the Gale—that & the foolish Quaranteen will almost ruin your Voyage.

You will of course have taken regular steps & will forward to the Owners the necessary papers & Documents to recover from the Underwriters.

Should the ship's bottom be materially injured you will have a bad job. Mr Routh tells me that you may get her into the King's Dock.

May you not lose the Season to Calcutta?

Whether the french overture will lead to negociations for Peace is quite uncertain. It tends however to reduce prices.

* * *

Sugars continue to fall here, Coffee steady—Pepper has risen a little in Holland. It will it seems to be enough in Italy.

Dollars 4/6½ each

I am truly

Mess^{rs} Filichi & Co. have drawn
upon me for £4500 on a/c of the
Owners.

S. Williams

The letter referred to above is dated at Nisita, Naples, Jan^y 28th, 1805. The proper name of the Island in the best authorities is Isola Nisida, but it is variously spelled in the papers.

Messrs B. Pickman & T. Williams:—

My former letters will have informed you that we arrived at Gaeta the 14th ult^o & at this place the 4th inst. that the day previous to the expiration of our 28 days quarantine, as order was issued that Sugar & in bags should be landed at Lazaretto for 38 days, bale Goods to be landed there, opened & the pieces exposed seperately for the same length of time—that in consequence I had determined to proceed immedately for Leghorn after landing our Coffee which was sold at 105 Ducats & 150 bales Bourbon at 90 the bags of W. I. to be started.

After selling our Coffee the weather which had been fine during our Quarantine was unfavourable, so that it was till the 16th we could finish discharging it. On the 15th we sold 800 bags Sugar deliverable at the Lazaretto at the risk and charge of the purchaser, at 32 ducats ready money, & on the 20th had discharged 460 bags of it, expecting to finish & sail on the 23d for Leghorn. I had also received on board 9400 Spanish Dollars. On the night of the 20th it came on to blow very hard from the southw^d we inside however thro' that night & the next day witout damage. (He gives the names of the vessels which dragged which are omitted in the Journal.) First at 4 A.M. the schooner Prince of Salem, Capt. Shillaber (37 tons, built at Falmouth, 1803, Reg. May 29, 1804, Amos Hovey, Owner) came across our bows, carried away our Jibboom, Cutwater &c. & went ashore. At 6 a Danish Brig came foul, carried away our foretopsail yard, Cathead, some of our channels & did us considerable damage. At 8 the English ship *Cod Hook* came foul of us, and her anchor being very near ours & both of us with nearly all our Cables paid out, continued alongside for some time, carried away our Channels, mizentopmast, mizzen Gaft, quarter pieces & did considerable damage to Hull. An English brig then came aboard of us, but as she was near sinking the Crew abandoned her, came on board us, cut her Cable & she went ashore & is lost with her cargo entirely. During this time all our Boats were carried away. At 9 the wind shifted to N. W. & carried us on a Bank of Sand where we struck, lost our Rudder, the sea at times breaking over us, & continued

here till 3 A.M. when the wind having moderated we hove ahead & by 6 were in deep water again, got the end of the Cable by which we were originally moored on board to ride for the night—our 2 Anchors being to the larboard so that riding by them would carry us again on the bank. The stream and Kedge anchors & Hawse we had lost early in the Gale. The night of the 22d was rainy, with heavy squalls, from W. N. W. but little sea. At 3 A.M. of the 23d the Stone Post on shore to which our Cable was secured gave way, & we were adrift. We went foul of an English Brig & a Polacre ship with little damage, but fouling our Cables with those of the Polacre, they cut both ours away, & had it not been for the broken Post being attached to so many Cables as to hold us, entirely unexpected to us, in ten minutes the ship would have been on the Rocks, where we would soon have gone to pieces. We remained in this situation till day light, when the weather became more moderate. Being without Boats & none to be had here, except those belonging to the shipping which were all employed, we were not able to keep the ship from striking at times during the 23d day & night, but being smooth sea at this time she suffered no damage. The 24th the weather was moderate but having no Boats we could do nothing about finding our Anchors or securing the ship. The sea prevented our receiving any assistance from Naples. The evening & night we had Gale again from S.E. but received no injury. The 25th pleasant weather. The Supercargo & Capt. of a Polacre lying here came with their Launch took up our Anchors, & lent us every possible assistance in getting the ship again in safety, which was accomplished in the course of the day. This day also we rec^d a new Cable & Anchor from Naples which had been sent for during the storm, but could not sooner be got off on account of the surf, the Anchor was returned as soon as we found ours.

The ship must be considerably weakened for being on shore 6 or 8 hours, part of the time she struck very hard—she does not however leak at all, nor is there any injury apparent in her bottom—the sides are much torn, plankshear broken & bulwarks carried away—Chains & Channels broken quarter pieces gone & stearn entirely defaced—Rudder gone—mizzen shrouds carried away—main topmast fore top sail yard, jibboom & spritsail yard carried away—Bowsprit & mainmast injured, I do not yet know how much—3 Cables

ruined—3 Boats lost—the two small ones are ashore & probably can be repaired—Stream Anchor missing. What injury the bottom has suffered is not yet known. I do not think however any of the timbers are started or broken with that or above—the copper must be injured. The sheathing in the Bends is all off. An old ship must undoubtedly have gone to pieces. This Gale has been the most severe of any within the memory of the *Oldest man in Naples*. Of 15 or 18 sail here, only two remained at their moorings, & not one escaped without injury. A Spanish Brig with a cargo worth \$20,000 & a small Neapolitan Vessel, with some small craft foundered in evg. of the 21st. Capt. Shillaber's vessel will probably be got off again, half his cargo was landed, what was left was all damaged. Great injury was sustained by the shipping at Naples.

[He goes on to say that] no disposition to help or to relax regulations has been found with the authorities and arrangements for carrying out the strict Quarantine very bad. It is impracticable to proceed with the ship in her present situation, we must therefore submit to whatever they choose to impose on us. An order was issued to repair the ship here, but as Carpenters cannot come on board while we are quarantining this cannot be done, even were the place suitable....

If we are permitted to go to Naples my present intention is to push such repairs on the ship as will render her safe to go to Leghorn & there put her in as good order as possible for the prosecution of her voyage.

Much has been omitted regarding possible modes of procedure and condition of the cargo.

As we know from the Journal they got pratique February 2d and were towed to Naples and on February 26th Vallin, Routh & Co. of that city certified that "the goods & merchandise herein described (a sworn statement) have been landed in this City between 12th January & 20th February 1805 from on board the ship *Derby*."

What appears to be an invoice in duplicate under date of March 22, 1805, accompanied the preceding letter. It is eleven closely written pages in length, all in Italian, and beyond the writer's small knowledge of the language to translate. The total footing is 5638.29 which we take

it are lira but may be dollars. It is to be presumed that the bill of lading will serve as an interpretation.

April 6th, 1805, Pickman writes his uncle concerning the account of the "ventures" of Benjamin Pickman's children and says that "By Capt. Tate will be sent a small box for you cont^g

1 ps. yellow silk)	for Mrs. Pickman
6 straw hats)	
6 straw hats)	for my sister
1 bundle silk)"	

The two straw bonnets were not to be found ready made but "Mrs. Felichy was good eno^h to spare two she had procured for her self one for Mrs. Pickman the others for my sister. The Italian flowers are got from Genoa they are sent for if in season they also will come by Capt. Tate if not by Capt. Frye, in the latter case directed to my Father."

An account of Port Charges at the various ports from December 14th, 1804, to March 26th, 1805, amounted to Ducats 1783.93 (\$1429.14).

A bill of lading dated March 21st, 1805, included 38 boxes containing 79,000 Spanish Dollars, 8 half Pipes of Brandy, the property of the owners of the ship.

The invoice covering the bill of lading of March 21st shows that the Spanish Dollars and Brandy cost Ducats 95,570.97 net (\$78,050.78).

An account sales the 25th of March covers sales of Coffee, Sugar, Copal and Ginger amounting to Ducats 114,300 net (\$91.44).

The Invoice dated March 25th, 1805, for repairs after the gale amounted to Ducats 3,604.09 (\$2,883.27).

Mr. Pickman wrote his uncle and Mr. Williams:

Naples, March 25th 1805

Gentlemen:—

The principal object of the present is to enclose you Inv^s & Bill Lading & price of Brandy ship^t on yr a/c on the *Derby*, also sketch of Sales of her Cargo.

* * *

The increase of my own stock by profit on outward voyage,

Com^s & some money used here, lead me to wish an additional Insurance to cover *Eight thousand Dollars*, say, on Specie out & merchandise home, on board ship *Derby*, at and from *Leghorn* to port or ports beyond Cape Good Hope. . . . I take the liberty to ask you to effect the same for me. . . . The ship is now in as good order as ever, having been thoroughly repaired wherever she had suffered injury.

You will find enclosed also a Bill Lading for 2,000 dolls for Mr Pickman, for a/c of his children.

The expences on the ship, including her disbursements & port charges am^t to D^s 6,600 (\$5280). . . .

The ship sails tomorrow morning if the weather will permit her getting out.

General Average on the Ship *Derby*, Freight & Cargo for Expenses occasioned by the gale at Nizita January 20 to 23, 1805:

Expense incurred for general preservation viz.	Ducats	grs
--	--------	-----

Paid to the seamen of a ragusian Brig for assistance in the gale.		
---	--	--

1 o/ca Spanish D ^s 122 gs.		23.18
---------------------------------------	--	-------

Paid for a Cable from the Dock yard		
-------------------------------------	--	--

23.10 @ 2 c/ Ducats	623.73	
---------------------	--------	--

duty on D ^s	47.70	
------------------------	-------	--

3.77 Rope supplied during the gale	114.99	
------------------------------------	--------	--

	786.42	
--	--------	--

Less one third for new	262.14	
------------------------	--------	--

	524.28	
--	--------	--

Sailors at galley harbour for delivering Cable	12.80	
--	-------	--

Carriage to Nizita	17.60	
--------------------	-------	--

Man & Boat to get off the same	12.—	
--------------------------------	------	--

Custom house soldiers at Nizita	2.40	
---------------------------------	------	--

	569.16	
--	--------	--

Paid N. de Lucca Carriage & boat hire, going to Nizita during the gale,		
---	--	--

Boat & Man assistance in new mooring the ship	16.—	
	9.10	19.10
2 Master Carpenters to get to Nizita, to survey the ship previous to permission being granted to bring her to Naples	12.—	
Hire of launch to land Nankeens to enable the ship to take pratique	12.20	
Health Officers for unloading Nankeens in (word illegible).	30.—	
do. for pratique to enable the ship to come to Naples to repair	309.—	363.20
	<hr/>	
6 Water casks thrown overboard new ones Cash	54.80	
painting do.	2.—	
	<hr/>	
	56.80	
Less one third for new	18.93	37.87
9 Boats & 63 Men to tow the Ship from Nitzita for repair	213.—	
N. de Lucca his services at Nitzitam during the gale and bringing the ship to Naples	25.—	238.—
	<hr/>	
Capt. Horn for receiving & storing provisions Cables &c to enable the ship to heave down		
32 days @ 4 Ducats	128.—	
Expense of Landing & reshipping Ginger & Gum Copal for do.	46.59	174.59
Paid Lawyer as amount of expenses of defending action brought by Cap ^t of a polacre for assistance during the gale	100.—	
Expenses of sending to (?) for a qit-ness & his attendance	10.—	110.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		1535. 2

Protest	6.50
Translating Log Book	6.—
4 Surveyors & Boat	24.60
Diver to go down & examine the ship's bottom	4.—
Chancellor coming on board with survey	8.60
Consul's order for survey	2.—
do. receiving & registering the same	2.—
do. charges of $2\frac{1}{2}$ p ^{ct} on amount of survey	90.15
do. 3 seals on Copies of Papers	7.32
Vice Consul for his Services	40.—
do. 3 copies of Papers	20.40
do. for his Clerks	4.—
	<hr/>
	315.57

of which one third to this average 105.19

D.1640.21

Subject to additional charges for assistance rendered at Nizita during the gale by a ragusian Boat & Crew, for which an action is now depending in the Tribunal of Commerce at Naples and also for expenses in defending in said suit:

Valuations of Ship *Derby* Freight & Cargo Estimated (sic) at their value in Boston, at sailing, with their proportions at the above average.

	Dollars	Ducats
Ship <i>Derby</i> & Appurtenances valued at 2,000.—		268.13
Freight to Naples & Leg- horn—valued at wages,	6500.—	
provisions &c	2500.—	
	<hr/>	
	4000.— (sic)	
Freight of goods landed be- fore the gale	1000.—	3,000.— 40.22

B. Pickman jr T Williams & D. L. Pickman value of goods at sailing	84000.—	
Deduct for 460 Bags Sugar 47 Casks & 245 bags Cof- fee landed before the gale Cost	24107.—	
	<hr/>	
	59893.—	
Add Specie received on board at Nizita	9400.—	69293.— 928.93
	<hr/>	
Nathaniel C. Lee value of goods	11219.—	158.44
Stephen Higginson & Co. do. (pepper valued @ (illegi- ble))	1565.—	20.98
Judd Hays & A. Tours do.	2574.—	34.50
Benjamin Pickman junr do.	800.—	10.72
Do. do. for his children	2268.—	30.41
Timothy Williams & D. L. Pickman do.	7968.—	106.82
Thomas West do.	3063.—	41.06
	<hr/>	
	\$122350.—	D1640.21

Naples March 26, 1805

Leghorn April 6, 1805

Gentlemen:—

By Capt. Williams I had hoped to have forwarded you all the *Derby's* papers—should he be detained say, another day, I may do it.

* * *

Altho' the time which elapsed from our arrival off Naples to our leaving that place was very long, yet what was passed in port will not be thought so, when you consider how large a parcel of goods were to be sold & the profits realized, the repairs on the ship—& add to these the dilatory nature of those with whom we were to deal.

* * *

With the sales of the Cargo, I doubt not you will feel per-

fectly satisfied, no large Cargo has sold so well in the Mediterranean since the last Peace commenced, and at no other port, could it have been done.

* * *

The Expenses on the ship in consequence of injuries sustained in Gale by which we suffered & the adjustment of that business gave me infinite trouble. Considering it as a loss to underwriters, every one appeared anxious to have a share in the plunder.

It has been a source of much regret and trouble, that the Lawsuit in which we became engaged for assistance rendered at Nizita could not be adjusted—but the Capt. of the polacre refused even to receive proposals of an accomodation. . . . I presume the result will be very little to his advantage.

* * *

Our Cargo all came out in perfect order, and was considered all of fine quality.

* * *

As you will be surprised at my shipping so large an am't of specie when not permitted by Law at Naples, I ought to inform you that it was done by the Custom H^o officers in their own Boat & with their own people—and the article of *Shipping Charges* which you will find in the Invoices is their compensation for the services. Altho' this would not have saved us had information been given, yet we should have gained intelligence of it probably early enough to have escaped without much difficulty. The price of Dollars & the difficulty of remitting & purchasing here were too great temptation to be withstood, when I considered very little was put at hazard in taking them at Naples.

* * *

With respect to the choice of Canton or Calcutta my opinion has always been most favourable for the former but had it been otherwise our stock would have been too large for a suitable Calcutta investment.

* * *

Freight shipped for the following:—

David Sears	35,000
Joseph Peabody	10,000
N. C. Lee about	13,000
S. Higginson & Co.	3,350
Samuel Cabot	4,000

Walley & Tilden	5,000
J. Lowell	120 for China ware
	<hr/>
	\$75,770

* * *

The Ginger remaining 4 Boxes Gum are sold here at very good prices. Sales will accompany this. I have purchased some Brandy, Lead & wine to make entry for Cargo for entry in Canton.

Four of our sailors ran away in Naples & one in this place—they have been replaced by Danes & Italians.

* * *

The ship is now ready for sea & on Monday morning, the weather permitting, we sail.

A bill of lading, dated April 6th, 1805, covers:

105 pigs Lead

3 pipes Wine

21 boxes containing 42,000 Spanish dollars.

The invoice of above amounted to Ducats 47,869:13:2 (\$9575).

Naples, the 9 April '05

Benjamin Pickman Jr Esq.

Sir:—

Our last respects to you were stated 2 Dec^r per the U.S. Frigate *John Adams* which informed you of the Ship *Derby's* arrival here & that M^r Dudley L. Pickman had consigned her Cargo to us for sale.

* * *

We sailed from hence the 25 March & arrived at Leghorn the 30th ditto. . . .

You will perceive by the enclosed Letter addressed to the proprietors of the *John's* cargo, that we have closed that acco^t by remitting the balance to M^r Sam Williams of London in all £8604:17:2 Stg. Our M^r Routh who is now in England intends to return to this Country via America, but as we understand that he is about getting married in England, we are apprehensive that this circumstance may prevent him and under this Idea we beg leave to make the following proposal to you for the shipment of about One hundred & fifty Tons, either on joint acc^t with you or for our sole acc^t which you may think proper, viz. ab^t Sixty Tons



CAPTAIN THOMAS WEST, OF THE SHIP "DERBY"
1777 - 1849

From a portrait by Corne, painted in 1803

of White dry Sugars either Martinique in Casks or Hav^h in Boxes (large dry grain preferred here) Twenty do. 20 ditto of Brown ditto Thirty do. 30 Tons of East india White if not much dearer than the West Indian Brown Twelve do. 12 ditto of Logwood Twenty do. 20 ditto of green small Coffee, if possible Ten do. 10 ditto pepper & Pimento Martinique in bags if the prices are low. to be shipped as soon as possible on b^d an American Vessel, direct for Naples, so as to be here in time for the Salerno fair which begins the 20th September, Salerno is about 20 miles to the Eastward of Naples, where, during the fair, which lasts 15 Days, one third of the usual duties are saved, & in order to enjoy this it would be necessary to stipulate in the charter party permission for us to unload the whole or part of the Cargo there in case we find it our Interests so to do.

* * *

Vallin, Routh & Co.

Benjamin Pickman Jun^r Esq.

London the 26th April 1805

My dear Sir:—

I wrote you very fully by the *John* previous to my departure from Naples. . . . The *Derby* you will have learnt long ere this reaches you, has sold all her Cargo at Naples, except her Ginger, and at prices that will I trust prove agreeable. . . .

It was my intention to have visited the United States previous to my return to Naples but I have spent so much time in this Country that I must defer it to another year. . . .

I understand many of the Newfoundland Merchants mean to send their fish to Boston or Salem this Season. Wherefore if you can get two or three Cargoes at a moderate price get them to Naples by Christmas or all January. . . .

the Quantity arrived last Season cannot have been less than 70,000 Qtls & no Cargo tho' immense Quantities arrived together has netted less than 30/p Qtl. English clear, . . .

My Mother and all my family in this part of the World are all in good Health. . . .

I remain very truly and respectfully

My dear sir

Your Affectionate Relative
& very humble servant
William Eppes Routh

Mr. Routh was the son of Richard and Abigail (Eppes) Routh, born in Salem 26 July 1774.

Another bill of lading, also April 6th, 1805, covered 530 Spanish Dollars 580 Spanish Dollars, by order of Benjamin Pickman jun^r for account of his children who are minors.

An undated account sales gives the result of the sale of Nankeens &c.:

Sales of Ship, Tea &c p ^r a/c	107,517.39
48,000 ps. Nankeens pr Humbird @ 66-2/3	
short	32,000.—
58,400 ps. do.	44,384.—

184,901.39

Cost of Cargo from Boston	84,000.00
Ship & outfits, say	22,000
Drawn on London	14,000

120,000

Charges on homeward voyage including special to Canton	8,000	128,000.—
--	-------	-----------

\$55,901.39

London, May 9, 1805

Mr Benjamin Pickman J^r

Dear Sir:—

I have rec'd your letter of March the 25th & will accept your 4 drafts in favour of M^r John Derby for £2475 st^s of that date.

On the 13th April I rec'd from Messrs Van Stephout & Co. £200 st^s on account your shipm^t of ginger, & the 23d, 230 £ st^s from M^r D. L. Pickman.

The *Derby* was at Leghorn on 1 April & in a few days M^r P. expected to close his business, all the Dollars being nearly procured. He is perfectly satisfied with Vallin, Routh & Co.

Mr Routh has lately returned to Naples with a wife. He appears to be a very amiable man.

Dollars 4/6

Yours truly,

" 4/5-1/3 on board at Lisbon.

S. Williams

10 may—I have just rec^d a letter from M^r Pickman dated 8 April with a further Rem^c of £212:13:5 on your acco^t. The *Derby* was then ready for sea with \$121,000 on owners a/c & \$75,000 in freight.

Messrs Vallin will probably draw upon me for dam^d Nankeens & short number & also for Expenses of a lawsuit with a Ragusan for assistance in the gale at Nizita.

Ship *Derby* at Sea Lat. 37° S.

(To the Owners)

Lon. 30 E.

July 3, 1805

Gentlemen:—

After 84 days from Leghorn & 64 from the Straits of Gibraltar, we are thus far on our passage, *all well*. Meeting a N/York vessel for Isle of France I write to be forwarded from thence. The Ship proves tight & is in good order as formerly.

June 1, Lat. 00 Lon. 18 W. we spoke the ship *Exeter*, Capt. Osgood 36 d^s out—all well—By Capt. O I had the pleasure to hear of you. We have seen nothing since.

I am very truly

Y ob. Serv^t

D. L. Pickman

Statement of a partial loss on the ship *Derby* valued at 20,000 Dollars:

Articles from which 1/3 am^t is to be deducted:

Cables	1218.56
--------	---------

Rigging	341.98
---------	--------

Rudder Pindles (Composition) &c.	320.95
----------------------------------	--------

New long boat	100.—
---------------	-------

Wood furnished by Carpenter for sundry uses	439.73
--	--------

Oars, Davits & carpenters work	96.—
--------------------------------	------

	2517.22
--	---------

Discount 1/3	839.07	1678.15
--------------	--------	---------

Amount of bills not subject to deduction per D. L. Pickman's Statement

1086.77

For a Cable charg'd to General Average from which is deducted the wages of the Master & Seamen during the time the ship was under repairs being 34 days	456.28
For provisions	200.—
“ figure head after deducting $\frac{1}{3}$ for new	120.—
“ Tar &c	12.—
	<hr/>
	D.4077.48
4077.48 Ducats @ 80 cts p ^r D. is Dolls.	3262.—
	<hr/>

Statement of General Cargo

Value of ship		\$20,000.—
Gross freit (sic)	7,500.—	
Deduct $\frac{1}{3}$	2,500.—	
	Net freight	5,000.—
Value of Cargo & effects on board		
at the time of the Gale	124,789.—	
deduct gross freit	7,500.—	
	<hr/>	117,289
		<hr/>

Salem September 6th 1805 \$142,289.—
 B. Pickman j^r Loss on 142,289 Dolls.
892.75 = .062-3/8 per cent.

Invoice of merchandise shipped by Dudley L. Pickman a native Citizen of the United States of America on board the ship *Derby* Thomas West, Master for Boston, by order & for account & risk of Benjamin Pickman Jun^r Esq^r. of Salem, four eighths, Timothy Williams of Boston, three eighths, & the said Dudley L. Pickman, one eighth they being all merchants & native citizens of the United States of America and consigned to them, viz.

SD		piculs	Tales
1 @ 100	100 Chests Souchong Tea	64.05 @ 33	Tales 2112.65
100 @ 500	400 Chests Campoi Do.	262.54 @ 26	“ 6957.31
1 @ 100	100 boxes Souchong Do. ea		
	24 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cats	24.50 @ 34	“ 833.—
100 @ 150	50 boxes Do. Do. ea 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cats	12.25 @ 33	“ 404.25
D			

[illegible]

List of Freight received on board Ship *Derby* at Canton,
November, 1805

Names of Freighters	Amount of Specie out	Amount of Freight	First chop			Second chop			Company			Blue do. 50 pcs	Boxes of China	Tonnage occupied
			Short yellow	Nankens	Bales	Short yellow	Nankens	Bales	Nankens	Bales	Pcs			
	Dollars	Dollars	Bales	Tierces	Bales	Bales	Pcs	20 pcs	Pcs	Blis	Pcs			Tons feet
David Sears	25000	3850.—	461	46100						40	4000	54	1700	33 1
Nathaniel C. Lee	13191½	1451.95	147	14700	50	30	53	7260						12 37
Joseph Peabody	10000	1100.—	111	11100	42	20	27	5540						9 22
Samuel P. Gardner	5290	581.—	59	5900	23	15		2900						5 7
S. H. Walley & J. Tilden	5000	550.—	55	5500	23		22	2740						1 4
Samuel Cabot	4055	446.05	45	4500	18		22	2240				9	450	1 3 28
Stephen Higginson & Co.	3371½	370.86	31	3100		35		1400						3 06
John Lowell														3 14
	75916	8350.76	909	90900	156	100	124	22080	40	4000	63	2150	4	73 11

Canton, Nov. 29, 1805 E.E.

Dudley L. Pickman

Port Charges & Disbursements on the Ship *Derby* at
Canton September 9 to November 29, 1805

		Dollars
Provisions supplied ship at Angier		7.—
Pilotage into Macao		30.—
Provisions supplied at do.	15.—	
Expenses on shore at do.	9.—	
Chop for Pilot 15.— Cumshaw for chop		
2.—	17.—	
Mandarin for permission to embark in their boat	2.—	
Boat hire	2.—	
	<hr/>	75.—
6 Sampans at second bar		6.—
Pilotage to Whampoa 25.—Cumshaw 4.—		29.—
Cumshaw for Mandarin Soldiers for Chop		2.—
Hire of a Boat to Canton		4.—
Thomas Genaver wages in full	75.20	
James Manley do.	85.34	
	<hr/>	160.54
Paid Seamen viz. John Varle	21.—	
Francis Tobino	20.—	
William Wales	13.—	
Charles Peterson	21.—	
John Anderson	20.—	
Do. pd D. Martin's bill	8.—	
Benj. Swasey	12.—	
Thomas Moriarty	10.—	
James Cromwell	11.—	
Lemuel Phillips	15.—	
Francis Hector	17.—	
John Flood 1 mo. adv.	17.—	
Perins Sprague do.	5.—	
	<hr/>	190.—
Mr Southword Coal at Whampoa		3.—
Provisions supplied Ship to Sept. 23		51.25
Flag for Boat 2.75—Coopering Provi-		
sions & water Casks 3.—		5.75
2 coils Rigging 4.1 @ 15 Dolls.		63.75

Measurement of Ship Couid (?) 107 9.4.4
third rate

@ Tales M C. Cash

4. 7. 8. 8 pr Couid Tales
516.8.3

Emperor's Cumshaw 1950.—

Tales 2466.8.3.

at 72 Tales p.100 dollars	3426.15
Linguist, customary fee	216.—
2 Chops for money boats	6.—
Cumshaw to pursers	10.— 16.—
Consul, Certificate on list of crew 2.—	
Do. on Invoice 2.—	4.—
Rent of Factory	600.—
Hire of China ware for Factory use, including cost of one Box sent to ship, cont'g Breakfast set of 118 pcs.	20.—
Factory Expense p. book	753.75
Hire of furniture	70.—
Usual Cumshaw to Mandarins at water side	20.—
Sent to ship viz. 73 lbs Coffee	17.—
50 cad ^s Tea 16.67 50 cad ^s Sugar Candy 9.—	26.67
20 piculs Coal 10.— 20 Galls. Lamp Oil 20.—	30.—
1 box paint oyl 12.— 3 doz. sail needles 1.—	13.—
1 bbl. Flour 14.— 2 boxes Do. ea 1 Cwt. 28.—	42.—
18 lbs. Twine 6.— 1 m Nails 2.—	8.—
108 cad ^s Ham 32.40 110 cad ^s Sugar 10.25	42.65
75 cad ^s Sausages 12.— 14 cad ^s Butter 7.—	19.—
1 cad Pepper .26 96 cad ^s Pickles 15.36	15.62
3000 Labels for Tea Chests	15.—
Customary presents to coolies &c at Security	
Mercht ^s pock house, Hong &c.	25.—
Half the duties inward on Wine & Brandy	20.—
1 quarter Cask Cape wine sent to ship	54.—
1½ ton Peruvian Bark 9.— 1 bag with Glysta pipe 5.—	14.—
6 ps Canton Cloth for mending sails	31.25
Provisions supplied ship by Compradore Tales	

from Sept. 24 to Nov. 29 for bill	276.78
1800 mats for dunnage	72.—
183 clamps for Tea Chests 5.49—200	
sheets paper 1.—	6.49
Chunam clamps .75—5000 small nails	
15.—	15.75
25½ cad ^s Board Nails 7.65 — 1000	
Clapper nails 3.—	10.65
3000 Pump nails 6.—15 Boards 7.50	13.50
2 Hinges & screws .30—3 padlocks 1.50	1.80
Mending coffee pot &c. .55 — 1 small	
bolt .30	.85
78½ cad ^s Lime 12.56—313 cad ^s white	
lead 6.30	18.86
6 ps Bamboo for coops 1.20—2 Bottles	
mustard 1.—	2.20
730 cad ^s Molasses 36.50—140 cad ^s Rice	
6.80	43.30
240 cad ^s Calavarras 12.— 10 cad ^s maca-	
roni 3.—	15.—
5 cad ^s Sago .50—800 Eggs 5.33	5.83
75 cad ^s Tripe 5.62—4 bottles Soya .80	6.42
461 cad ^s live fowls 59.63—631 cad ^s live	
Pork 82.03	141.96
piculs	
Paddy .22—Beans 4.81—Yams 27.—	
Pumpkins 4.29	
Potatoes 4.— in all 62.10 @ 3 tales p.	
picul	186.30
4 bottles Lime Juice	1.20

Tales 818.89

at 75 Tales \$100 dollars	1091.85
Cumshaw to ship's Compradore pr agreement	270.—
Pilot in advance at Canton	30.—
23 piculs Firewood 9.— 6 panes Binacle	
Glass 3.—	12.—
1 quarter Beef	6.—
Cumshaw in lieu of Boats at first bar	6.—

6 boats at second bar	6.—
Pilot in full 30.— Cumshaw 5.—	35.—

7552.63

Deduct for 6 barrils Beef, sold, at 16
dolls.

96.—

17-7/12 Cad. Junk do. @ 7 dolls.

123.—

219.—

Dollars

7333.23

Whampoa, Nov. 29, 1805
E.E.

Dudley L. Pickman

Dr Mess^{rs} B. Pickman j^r Tim^o Williams &
Dudley L. Pickman Owners of Ship *Derby*
in a/c with D. L. Pickman, supercargo of
said ship.

Dollars

To sundries shipped on the *Derby* for Mr B.
Pickman

118.37

To merchandise shipped on the *Derby* for

Boston for your account & risk, p. Invoice 122,658.95

To Port Charges & Disbursements as p. bill 7,333.23

To my Compensation as Supercargo p. agreement 3.000—

133,110.55

To Balance due you, reserved in Specie for

Expenses on the River or on passage

206.24

Dollars 133,216.89

Cr By freight rec^d from 7 Shippers on
\$75,916 @ 11 p.ff.

8,350.76

By Net proceeds sundries from Naples &c
p. a/c Sales

1,686.68

By specie rec^d p. ship *Derby* 120,895

Short in box no. 12 511½

23 10

24 10

30 10

34 10

No.	36	16	
	38	10	
Counterfeit	5	122½	12,772.50

By am ^t rec ^d of Youqua (sic-Houqua) in consideration of relinquishing contract for 200 chests Y.Hyson Tea	686.45
By am ^t rec ^d of Do. for not delivering Blue Nankeens according to contract	70.50
By my Note to Youqua for your account, at 12 mo.	1,750.—
	<hr/>
Dollars	133,316.89

Ship *Derby* at Sea Nov^r 30, 1805

E.E.

Dudley L. Pickman

Messr^{rs} Benjamin Pickman Jun^r Salem
& Timothy Williams, Boston

Gentlemen

Leghorn 29 Dec. 1805

We have the pleasure to advise you the arrival of the ship *Derby*, Cap^t West at Gaeta in the Kingdom of Naples, Mr Pickman writes from there under date of the 17th inst mentioning that he was ordered there from Naples, to which place he was indeed to proceed from the information of a Capt of a Vessel spoken with at sea that the sickness was making the greatest havoc in our City. This tho' an exaggeration (at no period more than 29 p. day have died) & now the city enjoys the most perfect health, yet may be production of good as from no vessels being admitted into Naples coming from the ports of Spain or this place the prices of Sugars & Coffee have advanced very considerably the other articles will we think do better here, more especially as he will have to come for his dollars.

(The remainder concerns prices and markets.)

F. & A. Filichy

They wrote again:

The *Derby* is yet at Naples. Mr Pickman had expected to deliver the goods sold there, so that he might have sailed the 16th inst. the continuance, however, of the bad weather

prevented it. This delay has been fully compensated by the sale of his sugar. . . .

It is incalculable the injury the fever has done to this place, the number of deaths were only 712 a mere trifle as respects our population yet the outgoing Government not content with taking the necessary precautions at the time, continues the restrictions when the city enjoys the most perfect health, restrictions that they never put on vessels coming from the parts of Spain when the yellow fever was making the most serious ravages. This situation of things entirely disheartening our speculators. . . .

(The remainder deals with prices current.)

F. & A. Filichy.

February, 1806

Gentlemen:—

The papers accompanying this letter will I believe enable you to form a correct opinion respecting the demand of the Owners of the Ship *Derby*, as assured, against the Underwriters on said Ship. I would observe that there is no dispute between the parties concerning facts. The only difference of opinion is upon the application of certain general rules to those facts.

* * *

The first (rule) which applies in the case, is that of deductability between the value of new and old and the rule will probably more frequently operate in favour of than against the assured. . . . when a new article is procured instead of an old, for instance, a new cable instead of an old cable . . . then it may reasonably be supposed that the new article is at least one third more value than the article lost. . . . But when repairs are made of such a nature as only to reinstate the injury sustained . . . the assured think it unreasonable to deduct one third of the expence. . . . You will please to determine how far the rule . . . shall be applied.

The next question submitted you Gentlemen is whether the assured are entitled to any indemnity for the expence of wages and provisions while the ship was under repairs and the Master and crew were employed in repairing her. . . . the Master and crew were engaged for 34 days in repairing the partial loss: . . . Why the assured are not entitled to an indemnity for the expence of their wages and provisions during that time, they are at a loss to conceive.

The last point . . . is in what manner and at what time the money advanced for these repairs should be repaid. They were indispensably necessary to enable the ship to proceed on the voyage insured. . . . The case is respectfully submitted to your determination on behalf of the assured by—

Your obedi'nt serv^t

B. Pickman j^r

(Addressee not stated.)

Settlement of Specie Dollars short in Ship

Derby, first voyage at Calcutta, say \$168.—

Collected at Boston, for

B. Pickman j^r 11,000.—

T. Williams 26,250.—

D. L. Pickman 8,750.—

46,000.—

as 46,000:168:11

11,000.— 40. dolls.

for B.P.J^r

26,250.— 96. do.

for T.W.

8,750.— 32. do.

for D.L.P.

\$168.—

Charged in a/c $\frac{1}{2}$ to B.P.j^r

Should be

84.—

40.—

due him

40.—

$\frac{3}{8}$ to T.W.

63.—

Should be

96.—

due from

33.—

$\frac{1}{8}$ to D.L.P.

21.—

Should be

32.—

due from

11.—

44.—

Credited B.P.J ^r by T.W.	44.—
Charged D.L.P. by Do.	11.—

Boston, Apr. 10, 1806

Credited also to B.P.J ^r for $\frac{1}{2}$ of 25 Rupees	
over remitted to Calcutta in Bal ^e of a/c	6.—
above	44.—

50.—

Settled Apr. 3, 1806.

B. Pickman J^r

Tim^o Williams

Dud. L. Pickman

Settlement of Specie shipped in Ship *Mandarin* for Canton in payment of a Note due to Youqua (Houqua) from owners of said Ship.

1750 Dollars, viz. 100 @ 3%	3.—
359 @ $3\frac{3}{4}\%$	13.46
560 @ 4%	22.40
731 @ 3%	21.93

1750.—

1810.79

Freight 2%	\$35.—	
Packing, Carting, Notary	2.20	37.20

\$1847.99

B. Pickman for One half	923.99
T. Williams, three eights	693.—
D. L. Pickman, one eighth	231.—

\$1847.99

Boston, May 12, 1806 E.E.

Tim^o Williams

Dud. L. Pickman

Benjamin Pickman & others

v.s.

The Salem Marine Insurance Company

In the above case, the arbitrators, to whom the same has been submitted, are of opinion:—

1. That the deductions claimed of one third for the difference between *new* & old, in the repairs made in the ship *Derby* and articles supplied, should not apply to any repairs on the Hull, or body of the ship: but should apply to Boats, Cables, Spars and other furniture of the Ship that may have been supplied in consequence of a disaster within the policy.

2. That no charge be made against the underwriters in the case for Mens Wages and Provisions.

3. That for the money of the assured applied to the payment of Expenses, which the Underwriters are bound to sustain, compensation be made by the Underwriters which we estimate at 25 p. Cent on the amount applied as aforesaid.

The Expenses of the Reference \$150 to be sustained by the Parties equally.

Stephen Higginson

Jn^o Davis

T. H. Perkins

Boston, June 30, 1806.

Samuel McIntire's bill for the new figurehead for the *Derby*, to replace the one destroyed in the gale, is the first documentary evidence that he did carve such pieces, although there are designs and bills showing that he carved stern ornaments and did other work for vessels.

The item of \$50 for work done by him on the ship when she was building (v. *supra*) may well have covered the original figurehead.

The Owners of the Ship <i>Derby</i> to Sam'l McIntire Dr.	
To an 8 ft. figurehead &c @ 30/- pr foot	\$40:00:0
to pr. Cat faces @ 12/-	2: 0:0
to Journey to Boston & expenses	5: 0:0

\$47: 0:0

Salem, 23^d July, 1806.

Rec'd in full pay for my father
Sam^l F. McIntire

Settlement of Ship *Derby*, 2^d voyage inwards.

Benj. Pickman jun. bill	3455.48
Tim ^o Williams do.	2744.84
	<hr/>
	\$6280.32

Benj. Pickman junr	4/8			3100.16
Tim ^o Williams	3/8			2325.12
D. L. Pickman	1/8			775.04
				<hr/>
				\$6300.32
Dr Benjamin Pickman Jun ^r			Cr	
4/8 Settlement	3100.16	His Bill		3455.48
T. W.	355.32			
				<hr/>
				\$3455.48
				<hr/>
Dr Timothy Williams			Cr	
3/8 Settlement	2325.12	His Bill		2744.84
D. L. P.	775.04	B. P. is		355.32
				<hr/>
				\$3100.16
				<hr/>
				\$3100.16
				<hr/>
Dr Dudley L. Pickman			Cr	
1/8 Settlement	775.04	T. W.		775.04

Boston, 26 July, 1806 E.E.
Tim^o Williams
Dudley L. Pickman

The a/c Sales of the tea, cassia, sinchaws, and Nankeens is far too long to include here.

The net proceeds amounted to \$107,517.89 divided in the usual proportions among the three parties. Dated Aug. 21, 1806.

The *Derby* had arrived in Boston the 31st of March, 1806, total mileage Canton to Boston 14,652 miles. It is evident that within four months she had been sold, for in the *Boston Ship Registers* the following is found:

(198) Ship *Derby*.

Registered, Aug. 20, 1806, of Boston, Benjamin Swift, Master, James & Thomas Lamb, James & Thomas Perkins & Benjamin Swift of Boston, Owners.

(384) Registered, Dec. 4, 1809, James & Thomas H[andasyd] Perkins of Boston, Owners.

- (385) Registered, Dec. 5, 1809, James Bennett, Master, George Lyman, James & Thomas H. Perkins & William Sturgis, Owners.
- (268) Registered, Oct. 17, 1811, Curtis Holmes, Master, James & Thomas H. Perkins, William Sturgis & Samuel Tousy of Boston, Owners.

Messr^s Vallin, Routh & Co. write to D. L. Pickman, Esq.

Naples the 27th July 1806

D. L. Pickman Esq^r

Sir:—

It was with inexpressible pleasure that we learn'd by your very agreeable letter 12th April of your safe return to Salem from the East Indies and that you had accomplished the Voyage so quick without encountering any of the accidents suffered by so many American Ships in the same Trade. We are sorry to inform you that as yet the law suit with the Ragusean Captain is not terminated. The Tribunal left the decision to two Arbitrators nominated by them, whom we have every reason to believe have been bribed by our oponents as their report has been very unfavourable saying that we ought to pay the Cap^t & Crew very handsomely for contributing towards the Salvation of such a rich Cargo, in order to encourage people on similar occasions to give their assist^e we have of course complained of their report & shall endeavour to get it referred to some other Tribunal if possible, altho' the first decision will operate always against us, you may however depend that no exertion of any (kind) shall be wanting to have it finished as soon as the dilatory proceeding of our Tribunal will admit of it. It grieves us to Learn that on unpacking the Boxes of Specie you found a deficiency of 127 Spanish Dollars but as they passed thro' so many hands its impossible to find out where the fraud was committed. We coincide with you in thinking it most likely to have happened while in possession of the Custom House officers, and if you recollect the writer went onb^d with you to verify some boxes that had remained with the Custom-house officers the whole night, but wch we found right we are particularly thankful to you for your friendly present of half Chest of Gomee (?) Tea as is likewise our Mr Vallin for the Tea Caddies & Ivory Fan which Messr^s Filichy has promised to forward us as soon as they get out of Quarantine.

* * *

The Cask of Marsala Wine that we sent your father, we crave your acceptance of. Mr Vallin is in the Country or otherwise he would answer your very friendly Letter by this same opportunity.

Vallin, Routh & Co.

Naples the 31st Jan. 1807

Dear Sir:—

We had the pleasure of addressing you on the 27th July, 1806 as pr copy herewith enclosed and having at present an opportunity direct for Salem by Cap^t Chase of the ship Packet we profit thereby to enclose you an authentic decree of the Tribunal condemning us to pay the the report given us by the two experts Periti appointed by Ragusan Cap^t (illegible) D. 600 which together with D.251 for Law charges from Spanish Dollars 697.52 from the report given us by the two experts periti appointed by the Tribunal to examine into the business we were at first condemned to pay D.1200 but as we had reason to believe that said Periti had been bribed by the Lawyer of the Ragusean Cap^t we made an Appeal & finally got it reduced to D.600 (\$480). It grieves us very much to pay the sum particularly as our Lawyer always gave us to understand that he had not the least doubt of losing the suit (sic) but where Bribery is countenanced what can be expected?

(The rest of the letter concerns merely the condition of the markets.)

Vallin, Routh & Co.

Dr Mr Dudley L. Pickman of Salem in Acc^t Curr^t with Vallin, Routh & Co.

paid to M ^r Scott by order of M ^r Pick-		
man 2 sailors left in the Hospital		10.14
for 144 ps. Nankeens found deficient		
at the Lazzarett @ \$1.15	165.60	
for loss on 250 ps. damaged by sea		
water & sold @ \$0.65 free of		
duties	125.—	290.60
Law Suit with the Ragusean Cap ^t pd		
him by Decree of Tribunal	600.—	
Lawyer's Charges	186.—	

pd for one half the two Periti by
the Tribunal

65.—

851.—

\$1151.74

Cr

1807 By our dft of this day to the ord^r of
Feb. 11 Mess^{rs} Wm. Gray & Benjⁿ Beckford
\$944.05 as per 122 gwains (?) p^r
Dollar \$1151.74

DERBY SILVER.

M^r Derby To Benj. Burt

1768

D^r

Aug. 19	To 1 Pair Silver Porringers w ^t	
	16 oz. @ 52	£41.19.6
	To making	10.
	To 1 Porring ^r	20.

£71.19.6

Supra C^r By Cash

40.

£31.19.6

Receiv'd the within Contents in full

John Andrew for Benj. Burt.

MARBLEHEAD COMMONERS' RECORDS,
1652-1710.

The following records constitute Volume II of the Marblehead records in the Town Clerk's office. The first volume is already in print.¹ This installment contains records of the proprietors of the common lands and early land grants. It covers substantially the same period up to 1683 as the first volume, but carries the record beyond that date into the eighteenth century. So from 1683 to 1710, it is the only record of Marblehead town proceedings in existence. The records of town meetings and of the selectmen from 1683 to 1721 have been lost.

[1] may 19th 1652 At a town metting this day — Richard Norman senior hath pasd over unto Markline Huckstabl on Cows Lees of the thre he had in the faerm to him the Saied marklin huckstabl and and his hears for ever for a valluabl Consideration he aknowledges to have Resaived in hand

This day granted to Gorg Chine by a town metting A parsill of Land that is to Say the westernmost hill that Lieth befor John gachells being two Ackors more or Less: to him and his hears for ever — —

This day it is granted to Thomas Dixe a quorter of an acker of Land and to be Laied out by the 7 men

Aprill 11, 1653 Henerie Combs Sould and delivered unto John Legg a Cowes Lease which was purchased of Samuell [Comes then] unto the Saied John Legg and his heaiers for ever

Julie 28th 1684 at a metting of the Comoners and proprietors Legally wrned thay mutually agree that the Cows Leas above mentioned Sould by henerie Comes to John Legg senior shall be frelie Inioyed by Leuetent John Legg and his heaiers for ever

[2] Jun 18th anno 1657

At a generall town mettinge it is granted to John Bennett half an aker of Land Joyning to John Lions to

¹ See E. I. Hist. Coll., vol. 59, 1933.

be Laied out by the :7: men Fransis Johnson and mr maverick Laied it out

Allsoe it is granted to John hudson an equall proportion of Land for the Cartway that runeth through his Land at the Judgment of the Seven men

Allsoe it is granted to John Northy that Swampe that Lieth betwen his Land and william nicks in Lew of a Cartway and allsoe the Swampe that Lieth bettween John Hudsons and his Land in Lewe of that on the northeast of that is one the other sied of the Cartway and Laied out by John Bartoll and John peach Junior

November 16th 1657 At this mettinge theaier was given to Robert Brookes a Small parsell of Land betwen his ould house and his new to be Laied out by the townsmen

[3] Augustt 14th 1658

The Town hath granted to Richard Rowland That he shall remove his fence which Lieth one the head of his Loott on the Comons side from the plaes the fence now stands to the tope of the Rocke that is next to his ould fence as it is apointed by the men Chosen for that purpos — — —

August 8th 1659 Agred bettween John gachell and Cristover Codner for a parsell of Land Lieing and Joyning to Cristover Codners Land at the head of the Saied Cristover Codners Land soe fur as the partion fence goeth between the Land of the Saied Cristover Codner and John Gachell at the head of the Saied Codners Land and Soe straight out as fur as the Saie[d] Gachells Land goeth the Cart way not to be hindred all that is to the Estward of this Lien the Saied Gachell hath Sould to the Saied Codner and his heaiers for Ever only the Cartway is not to be taken in.

Augst 8th 1659 The town hath given to mr Croad leave to buielld a warhouse in the Cove Comonlie Called mr mavericks Cove in any placee that is Convenient for that purpos not being preiuditiall to the town

John Croads warhous sold to mr maverick and maverick to Richard [Reith] in [Libertie]

[4] August 8th 1659 it is granted to Samuell Ward

Coop[er] Libertie to buielld a warhous shopp for his Im-
ployment under the Rock before mr waltowns hous wheor
mr mungies worke house stood being onlie for a shop

mo. 14 [1659/60] Ann Garred Deliverd and asigned
all the right titall and interest which was the inheritance
of her father John Rusells in this town to Richard Read
and his heares for ever by turning upp a tirffe acording
to Law it being by estimation twoe ackers mor or Lese
and this was donn in the presents of us John Bartoll and
John peach Junior Towns men

Allsoe Richard Read did Condesend before us that
Samuell Cundie shall have the halfend eall of the Saied
purchas he making pay for it acording to agrement—
Wittnes John Bartoll

John peach Junior

[5] morch 15th 1670:71 The townsmen have sold
unto walter Bosen A Smaell parsell of Land Joyning un-
to henerie Tribitt it is allredy bounded out for the which
he is to pay unto the Comoners the Sum of thre pounds

Aprill 10 1671 In referanc to mr Leachis suitt for a
parsell of Land it is agreed by the Comoners that the
Saied Leach shall have a grant of and inioy that Small
parsell of La[nd] adioyning unto John Hoopers runing
downe to the Sea siede providid the Saied Leach shall
teach frelie fieve of the poor Children of the town to
Read such as the Selectmen of the town Judge mett in
theare discretion

The Townsmen with them apoiented to Joyn with
the[m] have Laied out Severall porsells of Land unto
Severall porsons as aer heorunderwritten

Imprimis To william pow a parsell of Land as it was
boundid by the parsons apoiented for that
busines the Land Lieth between Gorg God-
fries and phillip hardens for which he is to li s d
pay the sum of 001 [45] 00

Laied out to Samuell Morgin a parsill of }
Land Lieng at the northwest End of Elias }
Hendlies ground the Land is Laied out 20 } 002 00 00
foot on way and 19 foot the other for }
which he is to pay the Sum of }

Laied out to John Gachell senior a parsill of Land which Lieth befor his now dwell- ing hous for which he is to pay the sum of	}	001 00 00
Laied out to Erosamus Jaems a parsell of Land for which he is to pay the Sum of the Land Lieth near the Cove by John Leggs garden	}	002 00 00

[6] Janvorie 11th 1671 it is agreed that mr John deverix and John Gachell senior aer impowred to Lay out to Robert Bartlott four ackors of Land upon the neck whear it will be Convenient for him and not prieditiall to the town or to any partickular mans proprietie — — this was in Lew of 4 ackors granted to on wockfield now bought by Robert Bartlot — —

1671 Janvorie 12 att a metting of the Selectmen with the other parsons Chosen by the town to Sell and Laie out the town Land They have Sold and Laied out a parsell of Land to John Bartlott a hous plott and garden plott as it is now staked out to him and doe heorby grant to him and his heaiers for ever all the towns right to the Saied Land Joyning to william woods his Land on the south west the Land that was mr Bonds to the northwest the Cartway to goe betwixt his hous and garden the Saied John Bartlott is to pay to the Selectmen on theair order the Sum of fivtie shillings in in mony at or befor the tenth of aprill next insuing which will be in the year 1672 Sould to Richard norman a parsell of Land Lieng near his hous as it is now bounded by the men apoiented for that work the Land is thus bounded with twoe Rocks at the southeast End and a porsell of Rocks at the west and northwest End and the highwayes on both sieds the Saied Land is sould to him and his heaiers for ever for which he is to pay the Select men or theaier order at or befor the tenth of oprill next which will be in the year 1672 the Sum of fortie shillings in sillver

[7] Janvorie 12 1671 Sold To Thomas Powsland a parsill of Land Lieng betwixt John Leggs Junior and John Pittmans house with the highwaie towards the Southeast for which he hath paied fivetie shillings which is full satisfaction for saied Land

morch 15th 1672/3 Theair is granted to doctor Richard Knott a parsill of Swomp Lieng near Henerie Trevitts Land as it shall be Laied out by the Selectmen with mr mosis maverick John peach Senior John Peach Junior the which Swamp he is to Inioy and his heaiers for ever if he Live and die in the town and follow his imployment of a docktor duering his naturall Liefe in the town but if he shall remove out of the town then the town aer to give him satisfaction for his fence acording as it shall be vallued and the Land to return to the town agaien

Theaier is granted to Samll Ward an ackor of that Swamp which Lieth befor thomas Ellis his Land and Jaems wa[tts] to be Laied out by the Selectmen with the men above mentioned: morch 24th 1678/79

Then at a generall Town metting itt was thus Concluded that as to the grant abov spesefied as to mr Samuel Wards Grant of his Land the Sole and propor use of the saied Land is to him and his heai[ers] ffor ever Wee The Subscribers have Received of John Bartlett of This Town[e] Twenty & five shillings mony for The Use of the Commoners being Soe [much] dew unto Them by Bill for The spott or piece of Grownde or Rockes [or] Borne, (Neare his Dwelleing house in this Towne) now standes for which hee is To Injoye The Same for him & his Heires for Ever, Wittness our hands att Marblehead Aprill 10th 1701

Wittness John Browne Cler.

John Legg

To The Commoners & Towne

Richard Reith

Archibald Ferguson

James dennes

[8] morch 31st 1673 at a generall Town metting Leagally worned Its agreed that the Land Laied out by the Selecttmen & others form erlie Chosen to Laie it out for a pasture for mr Chevers which Lyeth betwixt the two hills nere the millpond by estimation two ackors the Town doth frely give the pastore unto mr Samuel Chevers to Injoy it to him & his heires for ever he fensing it uppon his owne Cost & Charge & the Town to be ffreed from the former agrement Consarning a horse pasture and fencing of it

Jun 19th 1673—Theor was this daie Laied out for Leift Samll Ward by Estimation on a cher of the Swamp betwixt Thomas Ellis & Jaems watts acording to a town grant the 15th of march Last by the men apoi[n]ted] to Lay it out bounded as followeth from a great Round Rocke at the Southwest Corner of Elias Fortins house over the Swamp to a sharp Rocke under the great Rocke on the S: E sied of the Swamp Leaving two pooles betwixt Jaems watts his now ston wall & the Saied bounds which two pooll is for a high way the Saied bounds goe under the great Rocke untill you Come N.a: flatt Rocke by the Swamps sied agaiens the Corner of John Leggs fence and Soe over the Swamp upon a straight Line to the midell ston wall that parts Thomas Ellis & Elias Forten thear ground & soe Easterlie along Elias fortun ston wall to the great Round Rocke whear the bounds begun

[9] August 15 1673 The Comoners have sold unto Samuell Nickollson and Joseph nickolson a parsell of Land by Estimation on accor more or Les as it was Laied out the 28th day of Julie Last the Saied Land is in equall halves betwixt the Saied Samll & Joseph Nickolson for which Land the Saied Comoners doe aknowledg to have resaiued the Sum of seven pounds in sillver

at the same time Theair was sould and Laied out unto Joh Gatchell Senior a parsell of Land on which the new frame now stands thirtie foot at the East end of the frame and twentie foote at the west End and six foote on each side of the saied frame the wholl Length of the Land for which he hath paied to the Comoners twentie shillings

att the Same time The Comoners doe aknowledg to have resaiued of Mr. Mosis Maverick the Sum of foure pounds in sillver which is in full satisfaction of the wholle Necke of Land whear Ambros Gaells now makes his fish for which Sum the saied mr maverick is to enioy the saied Neck of Land to him & his heaiers for ever

²Highway to the ffort excepted, & ye ffort it selfe

morch 15th 1674/5 mr maverick mr Reddin mr Lattimore John Peach Junior Erosamus Jaems and Robert Bartlott aer Chosen as a Comitte and desired to bring in

² Apparently added at a later date than original record.

a List of the naems and prevelidge of each person in morblhead that aer Consarned in the Last order made by the Court octobr 7th 1674 Consorning the Comoners and bring it in agaiensnt the next generall town metting

[10] at a generall Town metting morch 27th 1675 Its agred that this List of the names and privellidges granted to each parson brought in and publickly read and amounting to the number of on hundred and nientie one Comonedges shall be entred on Reckord in the town book That Everie partickular parson may know his owne partickular priveidg:

mr mosis maverick Erasmus Jaems Robert Bartloot and John Brimblcom [are] Chosen to see the saied List Entred in the town book together with the order of the Generall Court

Att a Generall Court held at Boston octobr 7th 1674

To the Honerabl generall Court now Asembled at boston we whoes naems aer heorunto subscribed being apoiented by the Court of asistants to heor and give in our determination about the differance betwixt the Comoners and non Comoners of marblhead do agre as followeth [viz]

That the order which thos that shell themselves Comoners made in the yeor sixteen hundred fortie and Seven shall stand [good] & thay to inioy thos Comons as it was then orderid: and stands upon Record in there town book made on the tenth of Aprill in the year abovsaied and doe alow thos Comoners Each partickular hous of them on Cow Comons more

2dlie we doe further agre that all thos fivten or sixteen houses which weare built in marblhead befor the year 1660 shall be a[lowed] on Cowe Comons and a half which weore brought to us in a partickular List we say to Each house on Comon and a half

3dlie we doe further agree that unto everie Remaining dwelling house now in marblhead at this presant day shall have Comon apesse and that all thos Comons which are ap[ropriated] to Each hous throuout the wholle town shall not be sould [from] the house

4thlie what Swamps or Lands the Comoners have appropriated to them sellves shall be voyd and ly unto Comons

furthermore we agree that the Charge that the Court of
asistants did fiend for the non Comoners thoes whoe are
Calld The Comoners shall pay and that the Charg of the
Comitioners shall be paied by the Comoners and non
Comoners Eaqually William Hathorn

the Court do approve Signed Richard [Prince]
of this Returne and Gorg Corwine
order it to be recorded Henerie Barthollmy
as a finall setellment Thomas Laighton
thearof John Cor[wine]

Joseph Grafton

[11] Desember 11 1677 The Select men with the
other men Impowred by the Towne to Lay out and Sell
Small parsells of Land for house Lootts not preiuditiall
to the towne or pertick[ular] persons: have sould unto
Thomas Candidge a Small parsell of Land Bounded at
the East with william woods wall with twoe brier bushis
to the westword and twoe brier bushis to the Southword
and from that brier bush Estward to william woods wall
for which Land he hath paied unto Liuetenant Richard
Norman twentie five shillings in Sillver for which mony
saied Norman is to pay unto the towne on demand or to
give them a satisfactory acount

The Select men with the other men Impo[wred] by the
Towne to Lay out and sell Small parsell[s] [of] Land for
house Lootts not preiuditiall to towne [or] particular
parsons: have sold unto Samuell meritt a small parsill of
Land on the backsied of his house betwixt the highway
next his house and the ston wall as boundid for which he
is to pay unto the Towne fiveten shillings Item whearas
theor was a Small peece of Land for to sett a house one
near unto the Land that was Samuell Cundies granted
unto mathew Salter in the year 167[7] by the Selectmen
and acordinglie Laied out

I the saied mathew Salter doth aknowledg that I have
sould and deliverid the saied Land unto Cristover Huck-
stable and to his Heaiers and asignes for Ever as witt-
nise my hand this 12th day of aprill in the year 1680

the mork of
mathew M Salter

Test Richard Knott Cler

[12] Att a metting of the Selectmen Samll Ward was Chosen to mett with the Select men of Salem to agre about the mending and Setelling the Charge of the Bridge and Cawsway at forist River which was agreed as folowith

1681 Febowrorie 4 It is mutually agreed³ betwen the Selectmen of the town Salem In behalf of the Town of the on portie and Captn Samuell Ward by order of the Select men of morblhead and in behalf of the Towne of marblhed on the other partie that the bridge over forist River and the Cawsway belonging thearunto shall forthwith be Repaierid and the Charg to be Equally bourn betwen the abovesaid Towns vidy Salem on half part and marblhead the other half part and that it shall be maientaened from tiem toe tiem and at all tiemes as theare may be ocation Eaither to Inlarg or Repaier the Saem upon the Saem Condition as aforsaid Each Towne beorning the on half part thearof —

Salem 24th: 11: 81
This is a true Copie
of the agrement
with the Selectmen
of Salem —

John Hathorn in
the naem and by
order of the Selectmen—

[13] 1682 August 8th The Selectmen with thos apointed to Joyn with them have sold to John Abitt twentie twoe foot of Land in Length and twentie foot in bredth Lieng at the East End of his Land he now inioyeth to be frelie inioyed by him and his heaiers for ever for which he hath paid the Sum of ten shillings in full satisfaction

1682 Septembr 4th Att a metting of the Selectmen with them Chosen to Joyne with them
it was agreed with John Stasie for Roome to sett a shoop upon the Rocke betwen John Codners fence and Richards

³ The agreement seems to be a compromise resulting from a petition of the Marblehead Selectmen dated Dec. 1, 1681 to the Quarterly Court at Salem. The petition also contains a reference to the Coy Pond land which explains the language of the record of April 7, 1690. Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Vol. VIII, p. 220.

stage provided it be not preiuditiall to Richard reeds washing and Caring up fish the bounds are fourteen foot fronting to the sea and twentie foot up and down to the Seaward provided it doe not damnefie the high way above it: for which he hath paied the Sum of twentie shillings Att the Saeme time sold to John Bartoll Junior a parsell of Land and Rocks boundid with the highway upon the Northwest the Comons upon the Southwest John Codners fish fenc upon the southest a Rocke upon the northeast: the Land is Seven poolles to the Southwest five pools to the southestt thre pools to the North [east] and five pools to the Northwest for which Land he hath paied the Sum of twentie shillings which is in full what it was sold for the Land is sold to him and his heaiers for ever:

[14] Septembr 4th 1682 Sould by the parsons as on the other siede to Jaems meritt a parsell of Land in marblhead boundid with highway upon the Southest the fenc of thomas Pittman upon the Northwest Henerie Rusell upon the west the Land is five pool from Samuell meritts wall along the highway: four pool and half to to thomas Pittmans wall Leaving a highway between Henerie Rusells Land and Jaems meritts Land and the Rest of the Land is bounded as the fenc now runs: and for this Land soe boundid the Saied merirtt hath paied the Sum of twellve shillings which is full satisfaction for the saied Land and the Land is frelie sould to Jaems meritt and his heaiers for Ever

Sold John Legroe a parsill of Land and Rocks Lieng and being in morblhead boundid six rodd southest agaiens the Highway four Rood and half to the Northest five Rood to the westward for which Land the Saied Legroe hath paied the Sum of tenn shillings and the Land is sould to him and his heaiers for Ever the Land Lieth between Samuell meritt John hooper and vinson stilson his hous

Laied out and sould to Edword hoeman Junior a small parsell of Land between Richard Hawlies hous and william Bartolls gorden as it was Bounded by Select men with those Chosen to Joyn with them for which he hath paied

the Sum of ten shillings for full satisfaction and to Inioy the Land for himself and his heaiers for Ever

[15] Desembr 22 1682 The Selectmen with those apointed to Joyn with them have ageed with Robert Bartlett and Joseph Nickolson as followeth

That thay the Saied Bartlett and Nickolson shall for themselves theaier heaiers and sucksesers frelie Inioy all that Land by them now posed and Ockupied Joyning to theare stage Lieng and being in morblhead between the fence of John Codner upon the north and Northeast and the fence of william Nick upon the southwest to have and to hold the Saied Land with all the previledges and apurtenances thearuntoe belonging for on hundred years and a day thay the Saied Robert Bartlett and Joseph Nickolson or theor Sucksesers paying ten shillings a year to the Towne of morblhead or whom thay shall apoynt to Re-saive the saeme and in Caes of non payment by the parties abovesaid upon the 25th of march yearlie then this Leas to be voyd and of non Effect the first paiement to be maede the 25th of march 1684: and for the true performance hearof we have Sett toe our hands the day and yeor above written — —

Robert Bartlett

his mork

Testett Samll Ward Recorder

Joseph N nickolson

[16] Desembr 22^d 1682 at a metting of the Selectmen with those Chosen to Joyn with them thay have ageed with Richard Reed as followeth

Thay have Leased to Richard Read all that parsell of Land that is now improved by him Joyning to John Codner upon the Southwest the highway upon the Northeast the marsh of John Codner upon the Northwest and the highway upon the Southest to have and to hold the Saied Land for himself his heaiers and sucksesers for the full term of on hundred years and a day: the Saied Reed his heaiers and sucksesers paying to the Town of marblhead the Sum of twentie shillings a year or to whom thay shall apoint and in Caes of non paiement upon the 25th day of march yeorlie then this Leas to stand voyd and of non Effect the first payment to be paied upon the 25th day of march 1684 and for the true performance hearof the

Saied Richord Reed hath Sett to his hand Richeord Reed
Testett Samll Ward Recorder

Att a Commoners & proprieters Meetteing Legally warned.
Att marblehead this Eighteenth day of Aprill 1698
Itt was Acknoledged by mr. Richard Reed That The above
Lease is Forfitted, by Reason of not payement, as is
Therain Mentioned Ambrose Gale Clark

1682 Jenewowrie 5th The Selectmen with them Chosen
to Joyne with them Thay have Leased to Andrew tucker
all that Land that he hath now inclosed for a fishfence:
for on hundred years and a day the Land is bounded
with a fence of ston wall which Land Saied Tucker is to
Inioy for himself and his sucksesers untill the term of
on hundred years and a day be expired he the Saied
Tucker or his sucksesers paying the Selectt men or thear
order the Sum of ten shilling a yeor duering the saied
tieme and in Caes of Refusall or non payment by saied
Tucker or his sucksesers upon the 25th of march in the
year 1684: and soe yeorlie then the Land is to return to
the Towne agaien and for the true performanc heorof he
hath Sett to his hand — his mork

wittnes Samll Ward Recorder Andrew  tucker

[17] Jeneworie 17th 1682 Sold and Laied out by the
Select men with them apoiented by the Town to Joyne
with them

to Andrew Tucker a porsell of Land on the neck being
four pooll wied southwerd from his fish fenc begining at
the banck next the sea and soe to run upword twentie
twoe pools in Length Leaving twoe pools for a Cartway
the Land Lieth neor south and by East which taekes in
his twoe houses now buielt upon Saied Land for which
Land and the uese of his fish yard to the 25th of march
next he the saied tucker hath given the Select men in be-
half of the Town a bill of thre ponds mony in full satis-
faction for the above saied Land the fish yard onlie ex-
epted which is other waies agreed for

⁴ This paragraph was written over the words—Testett Samll
Ward Recorder—as if it were entered later than the original
matter.

⁵the Land Laied out to the said tuckers suckers by the Commitey apinted the fish fence exepted is ten poles Norest and fouer poles Norwest ten ples South west fouer poles South East which is a qrter of an acker the 3 Day of febrej 1724/5

Attest Richard Reith Commonrs Clarke

Sould To Richard wiese a quorter of an ackor of Land on the Neck Joyning to Andrew Tucker and soe to Run to the Southword of Tuckers Southermost bounds for which he hath paied the Sum of twentie shillings in full satisfaction

⁵this Land of Richard Wises is Laied out and Boundead by the Commiety apinted as folowers which is to the Nor West two pole wide to the fish fence & Nor est ouf twenty poles in south boundead upon tuckrs and Skinrs Land & south East [two] poles bounded to Skinrs grand & [south] West twenty poles bounded upon [Skinrs] grand which is the qrter an acker this 3 day febrej 172[4/5]

Attest Richard Reith Comns Cla[ark]

Sould John Searll a parsell of Land upon the neck boundid with Andrew tucker upon th[e] northeast John Pedricks fish fenc upon the Southwest the harbour upon the north-west and the highway on the southeast the Land is five pooll and half wide and six pooll Long for which Land the Saied John Serll hath paied the Sum of twentie shillings which is full sattisfaction for saied Land

⁵ Apparently added at a later date than original record.

(To be continued)

LETTER OF GOVERNOR ST. JOHN OF KANSAS
TO WILLIAM CHASE OF SALEM, RELATIVE
TO THE FAMOUS MRS. COMSTOCK CASE.

Governor John Pierce St. John was one of the early ardent prohibitionists in Kansas and kept the state in the dry column for many years. Later he campaigned against liquor in other states and, running on a prohibition ticket in New York, was blamed by the Republicans for deflecting many votes from that party thereby helping to elect President Grover Cleveland. Mrs. Elizabeth Comstock, whose cause he supported, was an English Quaker, who was a power in temperance and reform in the sixties, seventies and eighties. During the great migration of the negroes to Kansas in 1880, she probably did more to alleviate their distress and suffering than anyone else. She was a gifted speaker and preacher. Criticism of her work by the opposition is vigorously discredited by Governor St. John in the following letter to William Chase, a prominent member of the Salem Monthly Meeting of Friends:

State of Kansas
Executive Department
Topeka, March 12, 1880

William Chase,
Salem, Mass.

My Dear Sir,

Please accept my thanks for your letter of the 9th instant, which has just been received. It affords me a great deal of pleasure to be able to state that the reports derogatory to Mrs. Comstock, in my judgment, are wholly without foundation. It must be borne in mind that the reports were not circulated until after she had left here for a visit to her home in Michigan, and that, before a week had elapsed, the stories had been practically retracted. I have known Mrs. Comstock only about five months, during which time she has been actively engaged in connection with the Relief Association of this place. It may be well for me to state here that I have not at present, and have

not had for some six months past, any official connection whatever with the Association; but I have had opportunities of being familiar with its work, have closely watched Mrs. Comstock's connection therewith, and I have no hesitancy in saying that her every act, and I think her every thought, has been that of a pure, upright, noble christian woman. While it is true that, at present, the Association has several thousand dollars of funds on hand, yet it is equally true that, at times, within the last five months, and since Mrs. Comstock has been connected with the Association, the treasury, if the obligations of the Association had been paid, would scarcely have had a penny left; in fact, at one time Mr. John M. Watson, who is in charge of the books of the Association, informed me that, were the debts of the Association paid, there would be, according to an estimate he had just made, only ten cents left in the treasury.

It is also true that large amounts of second-hand clothing have been rec^d by the Association for the benefit of destitute refugees. Quite an amount of this clothing is now on hand, but I can assure you that not only all that is now on hand will be needed, but if the exodus continues, as it is likely to do, more supplies will be required to relieve the necessities of the poor blacks who are fleeing from the tyranny and oppression of their task-masters in the South; and to the efforts of Mrs. Comstock as much as, if not more than, those of any other human being are the destitute refugees indebted for the supplies that have been so necessary to keep them from actual suffering.

The article in the paper to which you refer, if I remember correctly, charged Mrs. Comstock with misrepresentation of the facts in relation to the destitution and suffering of the refugees. While I have not had an opportunity of understanding all the details in relation to the matter, as well as Mrs. Comstock who has been actually engaged among these people, yet I know enough in relation to the matter to warrant me in saying that, notwithstanding every effort has been put forth to alleviate their distressed condition that was possible with the means at the com-

mand of the committee, yet there were those who came into the Southern and South-eastern portions of the State in large numbers where no adequate arrangements were provided for them, who necessarily were subjected to many hardships and severe suffering, before relief could reach them. You will remember that, about New Year's there was quite a severe spell of cold weather. Just about that time a considerable number of refugees arrived in the portions of the State to which I have referred; and of course any one can readily imagine what the condition of these people would be under such circumstances, living in tents and camping out, thinly clad and with but little food.

So far as the publication mentioned refers to Mrs. Comstock's misappropriating any portion of the money received by her, I trust that her long residence in this country, her devotion to the cause of christianity, and her faithful services to the down-trodden and oppressed everywhere, will be a sufficient refutation. I am inclined to the opinion that no one to-day who is willing to be fair and just places any reliance whatever upon the charges that have been made against her. I have rec^d a letter from her to-day, and I am glad to say to you that she will return to her post of duty, at this place, sometime during next week.

In conclusion, I desire also to state that the editor of the *Capital* is a gentleman who would be far from intentionally doing Mrs. Comstock a wrong. The publication was made from what he supposed, at the time, to be a reliable source. I think that subsequent developments have convinced him that the publication did Mrs. Comstock an injustice, and if I remember now correctly, he has in substance already said so. The friends of humanity must bear in mind that \$6,000 or \$8000, the amount perhaps that is in the treasury of the Relief Assn., is but a small sum of money when we take into consideration that the Association is providing daily, on an average for say 300 destitute colored people, that it is securing employment for them throughout the Northwest, and that in

order to send them to the place of destination, it requires money to pay railroad fares and other expenses. Thus it will be seen that it will take but a few weeks to use up the amount of money that is now in the treasury, and it is difficult to tell how great will be the demands upon the Association in the future.

At present there are, perhaps, on an average, 300 refugees per week arriving here. As a rule, the Association has been successful in getting employment for them, but the great difficulty is that the majority of these refugees come to Kansas. This being a new State, the labor market is over-stocked, consequently the Association is compelled to send many to Iowa, some to Illinois and Nebraska, and thus to pay out large sums of money that might be saved, if those States would only organize associations with a view to supplying the demand for labor *directly* from the refugees as they land at St. Louis.

I have written at greater length than I intended. This letter is not for publication but is for the information simply of yourself and friends who are interested in this work. Hoping that all may do their whole duty in this work, feeling as I do that God will take care of the results, I am

Very truly your friend,

JOHN PIERCE ST. JOHN.

—*Essex Institute Manuscript Collections.*

INSTRUCTIONS TO MASTER OF THE PRIVATE
ARMED SCHOONER *GROWLER*, 1813.

Salem April 22nd 1813.

Cap^t Nath^l Lindsay

Sir

Having appointed you commander of the private armed Schooner Growler, now ready for sea & fitted for a cruise of four & a half months, our Instructions to you are, to proceed to sea the first favorable opportunity, & Keep near the Eastern shore until you are as far to the Eastward as Mount Desert, thence you will proceed to the Southward & Eastward as far as the Southern part of the Grand Bank where you will cruise off & on the Bank for twelve or fifteen days in order to intercept the Enemy vessels bound from the West Indies to England—you will then proceed in a direct course for the Island of Palma & thence northerly, & cruise between the Canary & Madeira Islands, where we expect you will be fortunate enough to make up your cruise.

Should you be driven from this ground you will proceed Southerly & cruise between the Canary & the Westernmost of the Cape de Verd Islands.—

You will order your prizes for the first American port, & give your prize masters orders to avoid if possible the large Seaports—We think the chance of getting into some of the ports to the Eastward of Wiscasset will be pretty good, but it is probable the ports in this Bay as well as the Southern ports will be closely watched by the Enemy this summer—At any rate the danger of recapture will be great, you will therefore give your prize Masters *positive* orders to make for the first port & inform us immediately of their arrival, to secure the property & wait further instructions.—

If you capture any vessels loaded for Fish either in Bulk or in hh^{ds} you will order them for the first port in France, after having taken out all the Crew & replacing

them, So as to conform as near as possible to the original Crew.—by this & proper managements in the prize masters, the vessels may pass as English until their arrival near the Coast of France. We shall appoint the house of Mess^{rs} Hottenguer & C^o of Paris to assist your prize Masters in the management of their business & the sales of the property, & as an encouragement to the prize Masters who may go to France, we will allow them a Commission of two & one half per Cent on the n^t proceeds of the property, if they conduct in a proper manner.

In the Captured vessels you may order for the United States you will send home the Captain or one of the principal officers, *and all the papers relative to the vessel & Cargo, sealed up*, & to prevent the Enemy from getting any information from you, it will be advisable to destroy all English vessels, which may *not* be of sufficient value to man out, taking good care of the prisoners & all the papers, relating to the vessel & Cargo, & should you be under the necessity of releasing any prisoners of War, you will take their parole—promising *not* to serve against the United States until regularly exchanged—

You will *not* trouble American vessels, on account of their having licenses, as we may thereby incur much trouble & expence, neither will you man out any vessel belonging to a Friendly power, unless you are *perfectly* certain, that they have on board enemies property sufficiently valuable, to make it an object to send her in for trial.—*Valuable* goods might be taken out of an English vessel, if they actually belong to an English subject & the papers accompany them, but Enemies property cannot be taken from a neutral vessel, until it be regularly condemned.—You will observe, that your instructions from the Secretary of State, forbids any depredations on land, & you will avoid every Act, which may Cause a forfeiture of our Bonds, or be dishonorable to the American Character.—Your prize signal will be an English flag, on the starboard steering Boom, at the foreyard—& your own signal will be hoisted forward when you

approach this harbour, & at sea in particular instances which we shall explain to you verbally—

Wishing you health &
a successful cruise we are
Your friend & ob^d serv^{ts}—

Ja^s Devereux, } Agents
W^m Fettyplace }

If you should be captured—destroy these orders.—You will report your vessel at sea, to be the *General Boyd*—Bailey of Portland—The course we have pointed out for you to get upon your cruising ground we conceive to be the best—Should you obtain any information which may induce you to deviate from it, you will of course conduct in the safest manner for the preservation of your vessel, & in many instances you will have to exercise your Judgment & conduct as circumstances may require—

—*Essex Institute Manuscript Collections.*

MEETING OF THE OWNERS OF PRIVATEER
GRUMBLER, 1813.

At a meeting of the owners of the new vessel building by Barker & Magouns, on Tuesday February 9th 1813
Moses Townsend Esqr Moderator S. White Secretary

Voted That the said vessel be coppered with the lightest copper, to 8 feet aft, and 4 feet 6 or 8 inches forward

Voted That we choose three agents for said vessel

Voted That Mess Penn Townsend Jos. J. Knap & William Fettyplace be the said agents

Voted That the said Agents be allowed Two per cent for their services on the amount of the cost of said vessel and outfits

Voted That the said vessel be named the *Grumbler*

Voted To adjourn to Thursday evening at 7 OClock at this place when we do adjourn

Voted That there be an assement made by the agents of one hundred Dollars on each thirty second part

Voted That the agents fix the value of all materials that may be used for the *Grumbler* that formerly belonged to the *Growler*

Voted To Adjourn

Thursday February 11th 1813 Met according to adjournment

Voted to proceed to the choice of a commander by ballot
On balloting Capt Penn Townsend was elected—

Voted to adjourn until tomorrow evening at 7 O'Clock

Friday February 12 1813 A meeting of the owners pursuant to adjournment

Agents reported that Capt Townsend declined accepting as commander

Voted To proceed to the choice of a commander

On balloting Capt William Webb was chosen

Voted To adjourn until tomorrow evening at 7 O'Clock

DERBY SILVER AND JEWELRY.

Salem Nov^r 28th 1769

Rec^d of Rich^d Derby Three Pounds One Shilling & Four Pence Law^l Money in full for a Gold Necklace delivered this day

£3.1.4.

Edw^d Lang

Philad^a 12th March 1807

Bot of Ja^s Black

A finger ring Sett wth Jett

7.

Engraving a Motto on “

.50

\$7.50

Received Payment

box for ring .50

James Black

Mr John Derby To Jabez Baldwin D^r

1808

Dec. 21. To a plated teapoott

8.50

1809

Jany 4 . “ a pearl Comb 75 cts, rivoting
two shuttles .50

1.25

\$9.75

Received Pay

Jabez Baldwin

Salem N^{ber} 17th 1809

Mr^s John Derby to G^m Berson, Dr.

N^{ber}

10. one Hair Neklace at

\$3.00

R^{re} Payment

G^m Berson

(89)

Mr. John Derby to Benj^a Balch D^r
 1809
 Feb 1st To a new Verge, Ballance spring,
 Cleaning & Rep^r Watch \$3.50
 Salem, Feby 3^d 1809 Rec. Payment
 Benj. Balch

Salem October 7th 1809
 M^r John Derby D^r
 To G^{me} W^m Berson
 one Parle Pin \$8.00
 one Watch Chaine 5.00
 \$13.00
 Rec^d Payment G^m Berson.

M^r John Derby
 to G^{me} Berson D^r
 a Hair Watch Chaine \$4.00
 Salem 14th feb^y 1812
 R^{ved} Payment
 G^{me} Berson

Salem April 23th 1810.
 Mrss. Derby
 to G^{me} Berson D^r
 a Hair Watch Chaine \$5.00
 Re^{vd} Payment
 G^{me} Berson
 —Essex Institute Manuscript Collections.

CORRECTIONS.

In an article on Deacon Stephen Phillips published in Volume LXXIV of the *Historical Collections*, it is stated on page 317 that the deacon did not marry till he was twenty-six years old. It now appears from the first book of intentions of marriage of the town of Lynn that Mr. Stephen Phillips of Marblehead was married first at Lynn on November 8, 1741, to Lydia Rand, who by an inscription on a tombstone in the old Lynn graveyard, died in Lynn, October 21, 1742, less than a year after her marriage.

It would appear that in later years when the deacon acquired quite a family of daughters by his third wife, after naming the first two for the mother and grandmother of their mother, he named the next two Sarah and Lydia after his first two wives who died so young. (See *E. I. H. C.*, XVI, 143; XXII, 156 for marriage intentions and Lynn tombstones.)

In the McIntire Genealogy, published in the October number, 1940, the marriage of Micum McIntire to Jane Grant, on page 357, should read 9 July 1703.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THREE CENTURIES OF AMERICAN HYMNODY. By Henry Wilder Foote. 1940. 418 pp., octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$4.00.

This year being the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Bay Psalm Book, Dr. Foote appropriately arranged the material on the text of psalm and hymn which he has been accumulating for some years, and has given us a thoroughly scholarly and readable account of the music of these past centuries. While he disclaims any attempt to write a history of American church music, he does give about as complete an account of the changes in practice through the years as can be imagined. Religious thought found expression in the hymn-books used by successive generations, they being the mirrors which faithfully reflect the beliefs and practices of their time. The usage of psalmody in the colonial churches and its transition to hymnody during the last half of the eighteenth century is told with interesting detail. This prepared the way for the flood of new hymn-books which began about 1800 and which still continues. He has arranged the hymn writers in denominational groups, which seemed more practical, although such grouping has ceased to have much significance today. This book will be welcomed by ministers concerned with the improvement of public worship, as well as organists and members of all Protestant churches. Two appendices, "The Controversy over the Practice of 'Lining-out' the Psalms," and "The Controversy at South Braintree over 'Regular' Singing," complete the text. There are also three indices, one of names and subjects, another of psalm books and hymn books, and one of First Lines. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

I SPEAK FOR MYSELF. An Editor in His World. By Edwin Francis Edgett. With a Preparatory Note by William Lyon Phelps. 1940. 385 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$3.00.

Edwin Francis Edgett was born in Boston in 1867. In his senior year at Harvard, 1894, he was correspondent for the *New York Times*. From '94 to '99 he was dramatic

editor of the *Boston Transcript*; then, after a year in London, he became literary editor in 1901, continuing in this position until his retirement in 1938. He has lived chiefly in Boston and its suburbs, also in New York and London. Arlington, Massachusetts, is his present home. During his year in London Mr. Edgett assisted Walter Smith in editing a weekly illustrated newspaper called *The King*. After his return to this country he was for a time advance agent and publicity manager for David Belasco, on tour with one of Belasco's companies. In Mr. Edgett's biography there is much of authors and their work—Scott, Dickens, George Gissing, Thomas Hardy, Joseph Conrad; and there are letters from Arnold Bennett, Sinclair Lewis, Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, Christopher Morley, Houdini, Richard Mansfield, and others in and outside the literary world. Of his autobiography Mr. Edgett writes: "Its pages contain my frank statement of what has happened to me in mind and soul and body through many years. It is intended to be a record of and commentary upon myself, my thoughts and beliefs, as well as a chronicle of events that have been a part of my life during all its successive stages."

LOWELL. A Study of Industrial Development. By Margaret Terrell Parker. 1940. 238 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$2.25.

Lowell was chosen by the author, who is Professor of Geography at Wellesley College, because it is the oldest city in the country to be founded and continued as an industrial centre. More than one hundred years ago, mills were established, and in a very short time Lowell grew to urban proportions, and until the recent depression set in, maintained industries employing 40,000 workers. A city founded by Lowells, Appletons, Jacksons and others, now shows large populations of French, Greek, Polish, Portuguese, Italians, Armenians, Irish, Scandinavians, Germans, Syrians and Chinese; one-sixth of the population in 1930 was of Irish extraction. Miss Parker has prepared several maps which add greatly to the study of the past of this great industrial centre. Speculation as to the future of New England business in the mill cities concludes the volume. A full index is also provided. Recommended to all libraries.

THE LETTERS OF SAINT BONIFACE. Translated with an Introduction by Ephraim Emerton. 1940. 204 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: Columbia University Press. Price, \$3.00.

This volume is published as Number 31 in the series of "Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies," established by Columbia a few years ago. Mr. Emerton was a native of Salem, and was distinguished in his last years as Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. The translations of the letters of Boniface, the early missionary, is most important for the cultural history of Frankland in the eighth century and the expansion of Christian civilization east of the Rhine. In addition, this work offers intimate and revealing glimpses of the manners and customs of that age. So little first-hand material is available in English that there is no question but that this volume will meet a real need. It should appeal to scholars interested in the early Middle Ages, as it furnishes collateral reading for courses in medieval history.

CHARLESTON GOES TO HARVARD. The Diary of a Harvard Student of 1831. Edited by Arthur H. Cole. 1940. 108 pp., octavo, boards, illus. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$1.50.

To everyone interested in student life at Harvard College a little over one hundred years ago—1831, to be exact—this book will furnish entertaining reading. The writer was a Southerner of a good Charleston family,—quite an interesting point of view considering Harvard's provinciality at that time,—who in addition to his normal undergraduate activities also enjoyed Boston and Cambridge society. The introduction is by Dr. Cole, Librarian of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and the illustrations add greatly to the value of the book.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, A MODEST MAN. By Edward Mather. 1940. 356 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. Price, \$3.50.

Many authors have written articles and books about "The Great Romancer." Mr. Mather has given us something different from any of them; he has treated the subject neither from an entirely critical literary standpoint as did Henry

James nor from the more or less eulogistic angle adopted by members of his family. This author, who, by the way, is an Englishman, and whose name is Edward Mather Jackson, of the same family as Cotton Mather in England, has chosen to treat Hawthorne as a man rather than a writer—"a study in human behavior." The result is easily the best short biography of him ever written and one which will appeal to everyone as a fair and candid appraisal of Hawthorne, the man. Barring a few minor inaccuracies, like *Arabella* for the ship *Arbella*, it is remarkably well written. The chapters concerning Hawthorne's life in England and on the continent are most interesting, as might be expected from one who knows the ground so well. This biography might well be required reading in schools and colleges all over the country. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

JOHN HULL. A BUILDER OF THE BAY COLONY. By Hermann Frederick Clarke, A.B. 1940. 222 pp., square octavo, cloth, illus. Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press. Price, \$10.00.

This is a new volume by Mr. Clarke, who has done so much valuable work already in his various books on early Colonial silversmiths. It is not only a full biography of our first mint-master, but it gives a list of examples of his work in silver and includes all pieces that are known to be extant. The marks are also shown, enabling easy identification. The author acknowledged his indebtedness to several officials of the Essex Institute, including, among others, Mr. Stephen W. Phillips, Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr., and Mr. James Duncan Phillips. This book should be in every library.

PERIOD PIECE. The Life and Times of Ella Wheeler Wilcox. By Jenny Ballou. 1940. 287 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Price, \$3.00.

The author had abundant courage to attempt a biography of one who, as she says, "is as absent as a ghost from even popular anthologies." And yet she has produced one of the most entertaining and readable stories of the year. Ella Wheeler's ambition was unbounded; and her middle-west background did not give her much encouragement. She made a fortunate marriage to a man who was successful in business and who did not prevent her from soaring to the

heights of poetic effusion. Her earlier poems, especially her "Poems of Passion" were frowned upon by the literati, but they had an enormous appeal. Lucy Larcom's disapproval called forth a long letter from Ella in which she thanked her for her advice "but really it is quite useless to advise me. I would not write a line I believed to be wrong. Pardon my wilfulness, dear Lucy Larcom—and like me as well as you can in spite of it." Mrs. Wilcox makes good material for an unorthodox biography. While her poems savored of mediocrity, she reached thousands through the yellow journals which published her work, and multitudes read them and liked them.

FRENCH PIONEERS IN THE WEST INDIES, 1624-1664. By Nellis M. Crouse. 1940. 294 pp., octavo, cloth, maps. New York: Columbia University Press. Price, \$3.50.

While much has been written of the colonization by the English of the Caribbee Islands during the seventeenth century, little or nothing has been written on the French experience. Mr. Crouse has filled a real gap in historical literature and has produced a book, interest in and enjoyment of which will by no means be confined to scholars and students. It is a story of wars against native possessors of the soil, interspersed with accounts of pirates and privateering, of the days when buccaneers used these harbors as ports of call where they might refit their ships and spend ill-gotten gains. New England commerce with the French West Indies was continuous, and Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, St. Lucia and St. Vincent were familiar names to early Salem sea-faring folk. In the great collection of logs, sea journals and account books at the Essex Institute, there is concrete evidence of this profitable trade over three centuries. Highly recommended to libraries.

BRONSON ALCOTT, TEACHER. By Dorothy McCuskey. 1940. 217 pp., octavo, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$2.50.

Upon the heels of Odell Shepard's *Pedlar's Progress* comes another life of Louisa's father, this time considering his work as a teacher. The author wrote this as a doctoral dissertation for her degree at Yale University. She holds that

Alcott was "the man who swept out of the schoolroom the Calvinistic ideas of the nature of children with the consequent repression and harsh discipline." He was a believer in the modern "progressive education," attempting the complete development of children, and allowing them creative experience in speech and writing. His schools were basically social, to an extent unheard of in his day. The author paints the first clear-cut picture of the debt American education owes to Alcott, showing his life as a teacher in Cheshire, Connecticut, in his own Temple School in Boston and in the Concord schools. This book is a scholarly and stirring contribution to an understanding of the philosophy of Bronson Alcott. If he could see the schools of today, he would approve the fine buildings, the friendly atmosphere in the classrooms and the free methods of teaching, "but he would find the modern schools lacking spirituality." Strongly recommended to all educators.

THE PORT OF GLOUCESTER. By James B. Connolly. 1940. 333 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. Price, \$3.00.

The author has been writing best-selling fiction about Gloucester for years, but this is his first piece of non-fiction, and appears as the first book in the new Doubleday Doran Seaport Series. Life has never been quite soft in Gloucester, from 1623, when a company of Englishmen first settled there, down to the present day when their descendants and those of the hardy Portuguese, who came later, still clear for the Grand Banks to seek the cod. Gloucester fishermen went to the North Sea for fish, they turned privateer in 1776 and 1812, built ships, served in the Navy, but have always come back to fishing. There are many human interest stories in this immensely readable history. The illustrations are numerous and of first grade. Recommended to all libraries.

5000 YEARS OF GEMS AND JEWELRY. By Frances Rogers and Alice Beard. 1940. 309 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, \$2.50.

This will prove a reference book of much value. The authors have explained fully, and in simple terms the essential nature of substance of gems, where and how they are mined or quarried, or brought up from submarine deposits;

how they range in relative rarity and value. They trace the history of gem cutting and mounting; the labor practices and problems that were brought about by the demand for jewelry; its influence on the Guilds; the skill of the goldsmith, enameller and lapidary. There are fifty illustrations, a glossary and a good index. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

THE COD FISHERIES. The History of an International Economy. By Harold A. Innis. 1940. 520 pp., large octavo, cloth, maps. New Haven: Yale University Press. Price, \$3.50.

To all interested in the history of the development of this industry from the earliest times to the present, this book is strongly recommended. It has been prepared by Professor Innis and published in the Canadian-American Relations series. Essex County towns shared in the important business of the cod fisheries and still continues, with Gloucester the fishing centre of the country. The chapters on the expansion of the West Indies and New England, 1650-1713, are especially good, and of interest here, because much of the wealth of New England came from the fishing industry. During the first half of the eighteenth century, Massachusetts had 400 fishing vessels engaged in this trade. But most valuable of all the author stresses the international situation and especially the current problems. To do justice to the mass of material which Mr. Innis has assembled cannot be accomplished in a brief review, but that it is a splendid contribution to the study of international commercial relations will be agreed by all who read it. It will be welcomed by people on both sides of the border.

WENHAM TOWN RECORDS. Supplement to Vol. I, 1687-1706. This Supplement was the beginning of the so-called Swamp Book, 1687-1731. Vol. II of Town Records, 1707-1731, is the remainder of the Swamp Book. 1940. 119 pp., octavo, cloth. Published by the Wenham Historical Society. Printed by Newcomb and Gauss, Salem, for the Town of Wenham.

The Town of Wenham has done a great service in publishing its town records, a service which other towns in Essex County might well emulate. It obviates the loss by fire and

carelessness, which was the fate of many records in the old days, and preserves them for all time. This enterprise of a few members of the Historical Society should stimulate other similar societies to go and do likewise. The book is a fine product of the Newcomb and Gauss press, which has been engaged in similar work for more than a hundred years.

THE MINOR MATHERS. A List of Their Works. By Thomas James Holmes. 1940. 218 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Mr. Holmes has recently given us that monumental bibliography of Increase and Cotton Mather, and now finishes with this list of the works of twelve other Mathers, who were of the family of the Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester. A handy genealogical chart shows the relationship. The libraries in which all their works appear are given, with chronological lists of titles, reproductions of title pages, and complete indices. Of the last mentioned there are three: Index of works, general index of names and subjects, and index of scripture texts. This is a most useful volume for librarians, as it is possible to easily identify any Mather work. Recommended to all libraries.

THE EDDY FAMILY IN AMERICA. Supplement of 1940. Compiled by Ruth Story Devereux Eddy, A.B., A.M. 1940. 180 pp., octavo, cloth. Boston: The Eddy Family Association, Inc., 666 Angell Street, Providence, R. I.

The preparation of this Supplement represents ten years of constant correspondence, and includes more than 8700 new genealogical items. There are corrections and additions relating to previous volumes, and a full index is given. It brings up to date the records of all members of this large family, and should meet with a ready sale.

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CANTON FACTORIES

From a painting on glass in possession of the Peabody Museum of Salem

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TO THE FARTHEST GULF.

OUTLINE OF THE OLD CHINA TRADE.

BY DOROTHY S. HAWES.

No sooner had America won her independence than she found herself irresistibly drawn by the magnet which had attracted European nations for the last three hundred years—the fabulous wealth of the Indies.

The fascination which China has always exercised over the western mind was transmitted gradually, first through Portugal, then Spain and Holland to the whole of Europe, to England and eventually to the young Republic. There was scarcely a household at home or abroad that could not boast of at least a few pieces of Delft ware, copies of delicate Chinese porcelains which familiarized the owners with scenes from the land of lotus and bamboo, of temples and pagodas. Curiosity concerning this little known country increased and was stimulated with each ship returning laden with treasures from the East—silks, tapestries, teas subtly perfumed with jasmine, stones and precious metals—but was never fully satisfied for Europe knew no more of China than she could learn from Chinese art and craft and China exhibited no reciprocal curiosity, or even interest, in the strangers from the West.

Geographically the isolation of China was insured by the desert lands of Mongolia on the north, the massive and

NOTE. Mrs. Hawes lived in China for some years, first with her father, Jacob Gould Schurman, who was the American Minister from 1920-1925, and later with her husband who was stationed with the 4th Regiment, U. S. Marines in Shanghai. She lives in Fredericksburg, Virginia.

elevated table lands of Tibet on the west, and, until the Portuguese discovered the southern sea route, the Indian Ocean and the China Sea on the south. In the two great surges east and west by the Occident and the Orient there was no real contact. Alexander's efforts culminated in the wastes of Central Asia (one may still find the Greek influence in certain Chinese sculptures, notably their statuettes of horses) and the Mongol Horde, spreading disaster and terror in both the East and the West, subsided in Europe almost as quickly as it appeared and in China was absorbed by the Sons of Han in the course of time.

The Great Wall of China, symbol of her isolation for centuries, lies crumbling, a melancholy but still majestic monument to a civilization which flowered three thousand years before the birth of Christ. Chinese culture, developed within the borders of China proper, owes nothing to the stimulus of outside influence. If from time to time savage and hostile Tartar tribes swept victoriously through the country they were, in the end, defeated by a force more potent than physical strength; in a mellow atmosphere of learning and elegance the Mongols found it easy to forget their tents on the plains for the flowering courtyards of China and to settle complacently to the life of Chinese gentlemen. The amazing thing is that Chinese culture did not stagnate and it is a lasting tribute to the virility of the race that unaided it should maintain such a high state. This very fact, however, bred a bigoted disdain for other peoples and a complete indifference to and a lack of knowledge of the outside world. For the Chinese there was only one nation under the sun, all other races were considered as tribute-bearing, vassal tribes.

For twelve hundred years the Arabs maintained the chief channel of communication between Europe and the Orient. Through them the costly silks which adorned the women of Rome were brought to the West and the land from whence they came was known as *Serica*. In the thirteenth century Kublai Khan ascended the Dragon Throne and it was during his reign that the famous Venetian travellers, the Polos, arrived via the overland route at the court of the great Khan where they were

courteously received and enthusiastically questioned as to the laws and usages of their country. Marco Polo's matchless account of his travels fired the imagination of the West and set Europe a-dreaming although his writings at that time were considered the figment of a capricious fancy and earned him the soubriquet of "Marco Milioni." As late as the nineteenth century English school boys were still calling a whopper a "Marco Polo."

Two hundred years elapsed before the light burst, and then Columbus sailed the Atlantic to stumble on the shores of North America instead of finding, as he hoped, a direct route to the Indies.

The Polos were not the first Europeans to enter China in the thirteenth century. Says Sir Henry Yule, "That a great and civilized country, so-called, existed had already been reported in Europe by Friars Carpini and Rubruquis." People were recovering from the shock of Genghis Khan's thundering Mongol Horde and were beginning to look toward the East with curiosity.

In the sixteenth century the Portuguese arrived in south China by the sea route through the Indian Ocean but did not at first identify the country with the Cathay of Marco Polo. Close on their heels followed the rest of Europe bent either on spreading the Gospel or in search of the treasures of Ind. The first Christian envoys to reach Peking were the Jesuit fathers, Pantoja and Bastien, who suffered various tribulations en route from Macao to the capital via Nanking but were cordially welcomed by the Emperor, who, although advised by the Board of Rites not to receive them, was delighted with the presents they brought—clocks and other curiosities not seen before in China. Father Ricci was ordained Superior of the Peking Mission and when he died the Emperor gave grounds and buildings for his interment, the first ecclesiastical property acquired by foreigners in China.

The contributions of the Jesuits were many. Among them were astronomers, mathematicians, geographers and historians. Between 1708 and 1718 the "Maps of China" were made under the direction of Father Tartoux

by order of K'ang Hsi, and still standing on the city walls of Peking silhouetted against the sky are the magnificent astronomical instruments designed by Father Verbiest. In 1900, by order of the Kaiser after the Boxer uprising, they were sent to Potsdam to embellish the Orangerie of Sans Souci but a stipulation of the Treaty of Versailles returned them to their original site. The Jesuits were the agents for imparting knowledge not only to the East but to the West as well; their maps, translations, historical data and accurate information did much to enlighten a wondering Europe.

This order managed to reconcile certain Chinese rites such as ancestor worship with the tenets of Christianity and, while introducing new beliefs, were able to live in harmony with their converts and with the mass of people as well. In 1631 the first Dominican Friars arrived in China and were scandalized by the tolerant attitude of the Jesuits. Chinese rites and the correct translation of the term for God became controversial questions among the members of the Church and the whole matter was referred to the Pope for a decision. No people are more tolerant than the Chinese in matters concerning religion, but the Emperor K'ang Hsi, fearing that loyalty to the Pope might cause divided allegiance to himself, ordered the Board of Rites to proscribe foreign doctrines throughout the Empire. In 1723 his successor Yung Cheng vehemently denounced Christianity and all Christians and thus passed the golden age of Jesuit influence in China.

If missionary influence waned, trade was steadily increasing. The first Portuguese arrivals succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the provincial authorities at Canton but the conduct of the traders who came later was so disgraceful they were driven from the coastal ports. In 1545 the Chinese, incensed with the seizure of women and girls, massacred all the Christians in Ningpo, among them eight hundred Portuguese, and four years afterwards a similar massacre occurred at Ch'uan-chou. The survivors retired to a small island near Macao and from time to time helped the Chinese to drive off pirates who infested the coast. The natives gradually became

accustomed to, and no longer feared, the strangers from the West (who had no doubt calmed down after their reverses) and petitioned the Emperor to grant the island of Macao to the foreigners for the purpose of drying their sails and damaged goods. Because of assistance rendered in suppressing pirates and also probably because Macao was a barren rock the Emperor granted the request, provided a ground rent of five hundred taels a year were paid.

Following the Portuguese came Spanish and Dutch traders whose conduct was hardly less reprehensible. The first English vessels arrived in 1635 but the Portuguese had so misrepresented the British character to the Chinese that they were denied the privilege of trade until after a show of force when the Chinese capitulated to their requests. No further attempt to trade was made by the British until 1664. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century an Imperial edict restricted all foreign commerce to the city of Canton — China's attempt to relegate as far from her center of culture as possible the ferocious barbarians who inspired neither liking nor respect, but mistrust because of their incessant plotting, jealousy and violence.

In 1742 the first British man-of-war to appear in China waters, the *Centurion* under Commodore Anson, refused to leave the Pearl River until supplies were provided. A century later S. Wells Williams wrote, "The constant presence of a man-of-war on the coast of China would perhaps have saved foreigners much of the personal vexations and prevented many of the imposts upon trade which the history of foreign intercourse exhibits, making it, in fact, little better than a recital of annoyances on the part of a government too ignorant and too proud to understand its own true interests, and recriminations on the part of traders unable to do more than protest against them." He adds, "A mixture of decision and kindness, such as that exhibited by Anson when demanding only what in itself is right, and backed by an array of force not to be trifled with has always proved the most successful way of dealing with the Chinese."

How the Chinese thought the foreigners should be dealt with was equally if not more high-handed!

China's Emperor in the eighteenth century was one of the greatest she has ever known, Ch'ien Lung, who ascended the Dragon Throne in 1735 and abdicated sixty years later at the age of eighty-five. It was during his reign that the first American ships reached Canton. Under his wise rule the people enjoyed great prosperity and peace. His admiration for the teachings of the sages influenced scholars to compile books on their precepts and his reverence for things of the past led to the reconstruction of ancient temples and buildings, among them The Temple of Heaven. It was a period of creative art, of internal accord and contentment throughout the land. The boundaries of the Empire spread to Outer Mongolia and Tibet, to Turkestan and the northern borders of India, to Burma and Annam. But Ch'ien Lung, so provident in the government of his country and his people, chose to follow the policy of his ancestors in regard to the outside world. He was totally ignorant of and failed completely to recognize the position and power of the western nations. For centuries China had been so accustomed to subdue or absorb strangers that to allow barbarians within the borders of the Empire, even for the purpose of friendly trade, was a condescension inspired only by the most tolerant broadmindedness! When Ch'ien Lung, with bland complacency, commanded George III of England "tremblingly to obey" and described himself as "swaying the wide world" he did so in all sincerity and earnestness. The "mandate" handed by Ch'ien Lung to Earl Macartney, George III's ambassador, who came to Peking to seek more favorable trade relations, is couched as follows:¹

You, O King, live beyond the confines of many seas, nevertheless, impelled by your humble desire to partake of the benefits of civilization you have dispatched a mission respectfully bearing your memorial. Your envoy has crossed

¹ "Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking," E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland. Sir Edmond Backhouse was the translator.

the seas and paid his respects at my court on the anniversary of my birthday. To show your devotion you have also sent offerings of your country's produce. . . . As to your entreaty to send one of your country's nationals to be accredited to my Celestial Court and to be in control of your country's trade with China, this request is contrary to all usage of my dynasty and cannot possibly be entertained. . . . Peking is nearly two thousand miles from Canton, and at such a distance what possible control could any British representative exercise? . . . Swaying the wide world I have but one aim in view, namely to maintain a perfect governance and to fulfill the duties of the State: strange and costly objects do not interest me. If I have commanded that the tribute offerings sent by you, O King, are to be accepted, this is solely in consideration for the spirit which prompted you to send them from afar. . . . It behoves you, O King, to respect my sentiments and to display even greater loyalty in the future so that, by perpetual submission to our throne, you may secure peace and prosperity for your country hereafter.

In a further mandate:

Yesterday your Ambassador petitioned my ministers to memorialize me regarding your trade with China, but his proposal is not consistent with our dynastic usage and cannot be entertained. Hitherto all European nations, including your own country's barbarian merchants, have carried on their trade with the Celestial Empire at Canton. Such has been the procedure for many years, although our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There was therefore no need to import the manufacture of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce. But as the tea, silk and porcelain which the Celestial Empire produces are absolute necessities to European nations and to yourselves, we have permitted, as a signal mark of favor, that foreign 'hongs' should be established at Canton, so that your wants might be supplied and your country thus participate in our beneficence.

Earl Macartney also petitioned for the privilege of trade at other ports — Ningpo, Chusan and Tientsin — but the opening of these ports was refused on the grounds

that there were no arrangements for foreign intercourse, no "hongs" and no interpreters. The request for a small island near Chusan and a site near Canton where foreign merchants might reside and repositories be built was likewise denied, and the reduction of duties would not be considered. Ch'ien Lung made it clear, too, that he would not tolerate the dissemination of Christianity throughout his Empire and ended his mandate with the injunction, "Tremblingly obey and show no negligence."

The early history of foreign intercourse is not inspiring and does little credit to either side. The buccaneer adventurers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have brought upon themselves the restrictions which were placed on them; on the other hand the Chinese had no conception of international law which had long been established in Europe. Their theory was, "The barbarians are like beasts and not to be ruled on the same principles as citizens. Were anyone to attempt controlling them by the great maxims of reason it would tend to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings well understood this and accordingly ruled the barbarians by misrule; therefore to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and best way of ruling them."

There are many who have argued that surely a great nation has the right to isolate herself if that be the desire of her people. Rodney Gilbert, in refuting this argument, writes, "Commerce is like water, seeking its natural levels over any obstructed course and wearing away obstructions as inevitably as water. . . . It is futile to discuss the moral character of the phenomenal tidal movement in world trade that scattered ships, men and their goods broadcast over the globe in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, bringing them into contact, and often conflict, with whole races that had been immune theretofore against such visitations."²

In spite of the attitude of the Court at Peking foreign merchants continued coming to Canton. They submitted to the rigid restrictions which made them voluntary

2 "The Unequal Treaties."

prisoners in the small and uncomfortable area allotted to them and endured every discomfort, even indignity, so great was the value of the tea and silk cargoes annually exported from the country. An anonymous memorial to the Emperor advised him that, "Inquiries have served to show that foreigners, if deprived for several days of the tea and rhubarb of China are afflicted with dimness of sight and constipation of the bowels to such a degree that life is endangered." The Chinese firmly believed this to be true as year after year the merchants arrived to make their fortunes. A fortunate trader might retire at the age of thirty-five or forty with an income for life.

The Emperor's representative at Canton was the Viceroy under whom were a number of provincial officials, all obliged to purchase their way to the offices they held. The Viceroy's great concern was to forward sufficient revenue to Peking while lining his own pockets and to a lesser degree those of his associates without strangling trade altogether. Imposts were high, but, with the usual Chinese adroitness, both native and foreign merchants were kept in a state of harmony most of the time. Between the officials and foreigners stood the "co-hong," a body of Chinese merchants, limited to thirteen, who were responsible for anything concerning trade. These men were the only persons authorized to deal with the barbarians from across the seas; it was their duty to regulate prices and to act as guarantors for the good conduct of the foreigners. In accordance with the laws of the Empire the co-hong were forced to endure official wrath as well as the complaints of Europeans, and though their position does not seem enviable there must have been ample remuneration, for in one case an entrance fee of 200,000 taels was paid for the privilege of becoming a member. A bond of friendship founded on mutual interests existed between the foreigners and the co-hong and as long as there was no official interference trade continued smoothly and amicably.

Canton, or as the Chinese called it, the "City of Rams," was founded two hundred years before the birth of Christ. Foreign trade made it a city of wealth and luxury and

the most important place in China outside of Peking. Its population was estimated at over one million inhabitants and it was ten miles in circumference. Europeans, however, were not allowed to enter the city proper, but were compelled to live outside the walls in the suburbs where their factories, narrow buildings of two or three stories with a parade ground in front, faced the river. This whole area was not more than a quarter of a mile square, but here they were confined and were not allowed to leave the grounds either by land or water, except very occasionally under the supervision of a Chinese guide. No foreign women were allowed to disembark from any ship, a regulation in force to prevent "outer barbarians" from becoming permanent residents of the Celestial Empire.

A British captain once took his wife to Canton disguised as a cabin-boy. While he was entertaining at dinner one very warm evening his lady threw open her shirt collar and leaned back to drink which caused considerable excitement among the Chinese attendants. One of them beckoned the captain aside to inform the person he supposed a man was in truth a woman because there was no Adam's Apple. The captain immediately ordered his barge to be manned armed and brought alongside, put his wife out a porthole and started the boat for Macao. Mandarins guarding the ship pursued with all haste, but the Englishmen were able to escape and arrived safely at the island.

All ships were required to stop at Macao, the gateway to Cathay, to receive a "chop" or permit, before they were allowed to proceed upriver to the anchorage at Wham-poa, twelve miles below the city of Canton, where they were moored. Passengers and goods were carried by junk to the factories. The sailors lived on board their vessels, but were allowed to visit the factories in small groups, or to amuse themselves on shore at the anchorage where settlements catering to their tastes had grown up. In the height of the season there might be from two to three thousand men, and they were no doubt a considerable worry both to the Chinese authorities and to their own captains.

The eight regulations governing trade at Canton were as follows:

1—All vessels of war are prohibited from entering the Bogue.³ Vessels of war acting as convoy to merchantmen must anchor outside at *sea* till their merchant ships are ready to depart, and then sail away with them.

2—Neither women, guns, spears, nor arms of any kind can be brought to the factories.

3—All river pilots and ships' compradores must be registered at the office of the Tung-che (assistant magistrate) at Macao. That one will also furnish each one of them with a license, or badge, which must be worn around the waist. He must produce it whenever called for. All other boatmen and people must not have communication with foreigners unless under the immediate control of the ship's comprador; and should smuggling take place the comprador of the ship engaged in it will be punished.

4—Each factory is restricted for its service to eight Chinese (irrespective of the number of occupants), say two porters, four water-carriers, one person to take care of goods and one merchant.

5—Foreigners must not row about the river in their boats for pleasure. On certain holidays the barbarians may visit the Flower Gardens and the Honam Joss House, but not in droves of over ten at a time and accompanied by a linguist. They shall not be allowed to pass the night out or to carouse. Should they do so, then, when the next holiday comes they shall not be permitted to go out.

6—Foreigners are not allowed to present petitions. If they have anything to represent, it must be done through the co-hong merchants.

7—Co-hong merchants are not to owe debts to foreigners. Smuggling goods to and from the city is prohibited.

8—Foreign ships arriving with merchandise must not loiter about outside the river; they must come direct to Whampoa. They must not rove about the bays at pleasure and sell to rascally natives goods subject to duty, that these may smuggle them, and thereby defraud his Celestial Majesty's revenue.

3 The Bogue is a corruption of the Portuguese Bocca Tigris and is the mouth of the Pearl River.

The first American ship to reach Canton sailed up the Pearl River in 1784; by 1790 twenty-eight vessels had made the journey. The China trade played an important part in the development of the United States not only because of duties which enriched the treasury, nor because it was better to be known abroad as an American rather than a New York or Boston man, but because of a far more lasting effect on American life. The trade was the means of bringing to Americans new ideas and a consciousness of the world outside. Canton, Java, the Straits, the Cape, Masafuero, Owhyee, the Marquesas became names as familiar to everyone as the name of the streets in the bustling port towns where the wharves were lined with graceful East Indiamen. The search for commodities in the Canton market led Yankee mariners to the farthest regions of the globe, to the then little-known, rugged and forbidding shores of the northwest coast, to the sun-bathed islands of the Pacific. An empire followed in their wake. As the trade grew the need for faster ships was felt and the clippers were developed. They were designed to outdistance any other ships afloat and they did, but their reign was short-lived, scarcely twenty years, before they were superseded by steam vessels. In their heyday the American clippers, their sails straining, were second to none in the incredible races from Canton to Liverpool.

The influence of the China trade is still reflected in New England, in the architecture of the old houses with their high balconies where the merchants might look out to sea and watch for the return of their ships; in the Canton china, the shawls and bits of ivory that yet remain. American pioneers of the sea were responsible as much as the frontiersmen for the development of the United States and because of them our interest in the Far East has never waned. Further it is through the old tales of the mariners, an atmosphere created by them, an aura born in the past, that we still see China today. The ancient dragon, awakened and disturbed by the intrusion of unwanted barbarians, may have fled, an age-old Empire become a modern Republic, but the conception of China

in the western mind remains a network of half-remembered stories and preconceived ideas.

II.

Bohea, Hyson, Souchong, Congou, Pekoe — although Americans liked their tea, they refused to drink it if the fragrant leaves were imported in British bottoms. Was there not the Boston Tea Party at the expense of the Honorable British East India Company? Shocked as this august body of merchants may have been at the time their cargoes were thrown overboard, they were doubtless more so twenty years later when their American competitors started underselling them in the great marts of the world.

Hardly had Washington's ragged army marched home to put away their uniforms and lay down their muskets than they turned their thoughts to the problem of rehabilitation. Merchants considered ports where they might trade, for their ships were lying idle and sailors wandered the streets. Commerce with the West Indies was stopped after the Revolution; with Europe and Africa it was impractical and with South America contraband, so there was no place to turn except toward Asia. Americans knew from the British that there was a market in Canton for foreign goods, especially for ginseng, a root found growing wild in the northeastern states which was used by the Chinese for medicinal purposes and was highly valued as a restorative of virility. It had already been proved there was a market at home for Chinese teas and silks. This knowledge, plus the reports of a young man from Connecticut, John Ledyard, who sailed with Captain Cook, were causes which led to the development of the East India trade. Ledyard saw skins picked up from the Indians on the northwest coast for less than nothing sell for a hundred dollars each in Canton. He returned home to urge the merchants of New York and Philadelphia to look to the Orient for their profits.

John Ledyard was born in Groton in 1751 and died thirty-seven years later in Africa. He was educated at

Dartmouth with the idea of becoming a missionary to the Indians, but left college before completing the course. He then studied theology, though these studies lasted but a short time, for the clergy turned down his application for candidate. John had often heard his grandfather speak of wealthy family connections living in London, so he decided to sail for England with the hope that his cousins would help him start on a career. Soon after he arrived he called at the family residence where he was met by the son of the house who refused to believe either his story or the proofs of his identity. Ledyard, always high tempered, left in a rage and although later apologies and presents of money were offered he refused to accept either.

The journey to London, however, bore fruit. It was there that Ledyard met the great navigator, Captain Cook, who was preparing for his third and last voyage and who was so impressed with the young American's appearance and manner that he enlisted him in his service with the rank of corporal of Marines. The expedition, consisting of the two ships *Resolution* and *Discovery*, proceeded around the Cape of Good Hope, crossed the Pacific and at length arrived at Nootka Sound on the northwest coast of America. Ledyard wrote of the region :

The light in which this country will appear most to advantage respects the variety of its animals, and the richness of their furs. They have foxes, sables, hares, marmosets, ermines, weazles, bears, wolves, deer, moose, dogs, otters, beavers, and a species of weazle called the glutton. The skin of this animal was sold at Kamchatka for sixty rubles, which is near twelve guineas, and had it been sold in China it would have been worth thirty guineas. We purchased here about fifteen hundred beaver, besides other skins, but had no thought at the time of using them to any other advantage than converting them to the purpose of clothing, but it afterwards happened that the skins which did not cost the purchaser sixpence, sold in China for one hundred dollars. Neither did we purchase one quarter part of the beaver and other furs we might have done, and most certainly should have done, had we known of meeting the opportunity of disposing of them to such an astonishing profit.

Captain Cook commanded Ledyard to explore the nearby woods where he discovered thirty Russians, subjects of the Empress Catherine, trading with the Indians. When the Cook expedition returned home great public interest was aroused in England and Catherine, fearing she might meet with competition in her imperial outpost, determined to strengthen her claims and for that purpose sent out two ships under Captain Billings, formerly one of Cook's men.

When Ledyard returned home he attempted to inspire the merchants with his own enthusiasm for the northwest coast and what he was sure were its unlimited possibilities. Robert Morris of Philadelphia at first encouraged him, going so far as to commission him to find a ship, and although a vessel, the *Empress of China*, was purchased the plan fell through. In New York Ledyard was considered an impractical, even a wild visionary of somewhat unbalanced mind and because his efforts met with ill success in his own country he decided to go to Europe. In Cadiz he learned that a ship of seven hundred tons had been fitted out on the Thames and commissioned by the Empress of Russia for a voyage to the hinterland of America.

"You see," he wrote bitterly, "the business deserves the attention I have endeavoured and am still striving to give it; and had Morris not shrunk behind a trifling obstruction I should have been happy, and America would at this moment be triumphantly displaying her flag in the most remote and beneficial regions of commerce. I am tired of vexations." Further, "The flame of enterprise I kindled in America terminated in a flash that bespoke little foresight or resolution in my patrons. Perseverance was an effort of understanding which twelve rich merchants were incapable of making."

This extract from one of Ledyard's letters shows how resentful he was towards the American merchants, Robert Morris in particular, but at that time the merchants were not ready for such an undertaking; they were seeking, rather, a safe and reasonably profitable trade than sudden

wealth from a land about which little was known except that its inhabitants were savage Indians. Yet one can understand and sympathize with Ledyard's chagrin; time after time he seemed within reach of success, success in an undertaking the profits of which he felt were assured, only to have his aspirations dashed to the ground. He referred to himself as the "sport of accident."

Ledyard left Spain for Paris where he met Thomas Jefferson, the American minister to France. Jefferson was much impressed with Ledyard's views and was himself convinced that the large portion of the country outside the United States, separated by no barrier of nature, must eventually become part of the growing nation and in this conviction originated the journey of Lewis and Clarke overland to the Pacific Ocean. While he was in Paris Ledyard also became acquainted with John Paul Jones, who was there in connection with the famous capture of the *Serapis*. Jones was greatly interested in descriptions of the northwest coast and the two men decided to outfit ships for an expedition to collect furs for sale in Canton where they would reload with teas and silks, but this plan, as in the case of Ledyard's other attempts, failed to materialize because of lack of money and government backing.

From Paris Ledyard went to London and under the patronage of Sir Joshua Banks and other gentlemen a subscription was raised to send him across Siberia to America. His efforts in this direction were frustrated by the Empress Catherine's order to put him under arrest — a step taken to assure her own interests, but excused on the grounds the journey was so dangerous she feared the "courageous American might die!" He was sent back to London and once more engaged by Sir Joshua Banks, this time to lead an expedition into Africa where he succumbed to an illness in his thirty-eighth year.

During his life John Ledyard suffered reverses which would have discouraged most men, but he never gave up hope of one day seeing his fondest dream come true — an established trade with the northwest Indians and for himself a "small degree of honest fame" for his efforts. It

was he who first saw the tremendous value of furs which could be obtained for little from the trappers and he was the first American to propose voyages to the northwest coast as a mercantile enterprise. Although he died before his aim could be fulfilled he did ignite the fuse and it was not long before his dream became an accomplished fact.

Influenced by Ledyard's reports, necessitated by poverty, and because by nature the men of New England were shipbuilders and mariners, Americans took to the sea in search of trade and capital. The honor of being the first ship to sail from America to Canton goes to the *Empress of China*, owned jointly by Robert Morris and a group of New York merchants represented by Daniel Parker. Morris wrote to his friend John Jay, "I am sending some ships to China in order to encourage others in the adventurous pursuit of commerce." This was the vessel on which Ledyard had hoped to sail taking furs for the Canton market, but instead of furs the cargo consisted of ginseng, cordage, wine, lead, iron and a few Spanish dollars. Captain Green was in command and under him Mr. Peter Hodgkinson the second captain. In the ship's company were forty-two men including a surgeon, carpenters, a cooper, a gunner and boys. The measurement was three hundred and sixty tons, less than one one-hundredth the size of Atlantic liners today. The *Empress of China* sailed from New York on Washington's birthday, 1784, saluted the grand battery with thirteen guns, received twelve in return, and thus launched began her long journey to the Orient and American trade with China was inaugurated!

No one could then have realized how important this trade was to become in American life. The ship's owners believed there would be a profit but not one of them dreamed of the lucrative returns the China trade was to bring, nor of the influence it was to exert. The *Empress of China* left New York without fanfare. The men who sailed with her did so because of the need for something to do. Many of them were penniless, in debt even, after the Revolution.

In addition to the officers and crew there were two supercargoes in charge of the commercial interests of the voyage, Major Samuel Shaw of Boston and his friend, Mr. Thomas Randall, both former officers in the American army during the Revolution. Major Shaw had been aide-de-camp to General Knox, commander of the artillery, and served with distinction throughout the war; he was highly thought of by his superior officers and has been described by contemporaries as a man of refinement and education, with a high degree of honor, an agreeable companion, generous and of sound judgment. His *Journal*, relating his experiences on the *Empress of China* and subsequent voyages, is by far the best account written by an American of the existing trade conditions in China and India and is an invaluable source of information concerning the East India trade. On their second expedition Shaw and Randall bore the titles of consul and vice-consul, respectively, at Canton, the first American officials east of the Cape.

The *Empress of China* sailed from New York to Port Praya on the island of St. Jago where she remained for six days until her upperworks could be repaired. While there Shaw, Randall and Captain Green saw much of the island and paid a call on the Commandant of the fort, a Portuguese, who, after he had received a five dollar anchorage fee, hinted that a "compliment" for himself would not be out of order. Other visitors to the island had reported that the Portuguese were great rogues and sharp in barter. In the harbor lay a French brig crowded with naked blacks bought for five crowns a head in Senegal and doomed for market at the Cape where the demand was great. Before sailing Captain Green took on board a plentiful supply of water, fruit and livestock.

From St. Jago the *Empress of China* proceeded south, rounded the Cape and on July 17th arrived at the Straits of Sunda where she came upon two French ships at anchor, the *Fabius* and the *Triton*, the former carrying cannon and supplies for the Dutch at Batavia, while the latter was bound for Canton, under the command of Cap-

tain d'Ordelin. In the course of calls between ships the captain of the *Fabius* told the Americans he had fought under deGrasse at Chesapeake and had been at the surrender of the British forces to the American and French at Yorktown and M. d'Ordelin gave them the news that Lafayette had received the order of the American Society of Cincinnati, an honor with which all France was much pleased. Captain Green decided to sail for Macao in company with the French captain who had already made the trip eleven times, but before weighing anchor a garden of oats, corn, beans, peas and potatoes was planted on uninhabited Mew Island and the gentlemen of the two ships toasted this undertaking in Madeira and champagne. On the 24th of August they reached Macao where the Americans were entertained by the French and Swedish consuls and where Major Shaw took the opportunity to distribute copies of the treaties existing between the United States and friendly European nations. On the 25th, having received a "chop," and with a Chinese pilot on board, the *Empress of China* saluted the *Triton* and set sail for Whampoa where she arrived three days later, six months out from New York, without mishap and with all hands in good health.

The Pearl River has been the subject of many descriptions, both in writing and painting; there were few who were not impressed with the vivacious scene and the variegated colors. From its banks on either side rose low, wooded hills while the flats were thickly planted with fruit trees — peach, orange and plantain. Like a city moving slowly it supported a floating population, over eighty-four thousand, many of whom scarcely ever set foot on land, and its streams and canals were more densely thronged, even, than the streets of Canton. Officers appointed by the government regulated its traffic and controlled the people who sought a livelihood from its waters, who knew no other home than their floating craft. Along it flowed carrying boats of every description; egg-boats so low a person could scarcely stand up in them; sampans crowded with river men and women and babies with blocks

of wood tied to their backs to keep them from drowning should they fall overboard, packed with chickens, pigs and food placed indiscriminately on the small deck space. Vendors and barbers in search of customers darted to and fro among the bigger boats and fortune tellers and theatrical performers advertised their wares in sing-song voice. Gentle waves lapped the sides of flower boats where graceful courtesans, bedecked in jewels, awaited the pleasure of the mandarins. Officials' boats decorated in scarlet bobbed gaily along the banks, while huge salt junks and junks of war flying martial banners moved majestically up and down. The whole scene was a strange medley of luxury and poverty, of the mysterious and the prosaic, of every kind of coarseness and of the greatest magnificence.

One young sailor wrote in his log, "I was as happy as any person ever was to see anything. I scarcely believed I was so fortunate as really to be in China. As we sailed up the river I would cast my eyes from side to side: the thoughts and ideas I had pictured to my mind of it were not lessened in brilliancy, rather increased: the immense number of buildings that extended as far as the eye could reach; their fantastic shapes and gaudy colors; their trees and flowers so like their paintings, and the myriads of floating vessels; and above all the fanciful dresses and gaudy colors of their clothes, all serve to fix the mind of a stranger, upon his first arrival."

"Chops" issued at Macao were countersigned at the Bogue Forts, and, if the mandarin came on board to inspect the vessel, a bottle of wine was opened in his honor. As the *Empress of China* advanced slowly upstream carrying the first American flag to be seen in those waters she was greeted with salutes from the foreign fleet at anchor along the shore, their tall spars, rising above the junks pressing in on them. Small boats were sent out to greet the newcomers; the French helped the vessel anchor at a good berth, the Danes and Dutch sent officers to call, and the British an officer to welcome the flag in a new corner of the world. The calls were returned. "On board the

British," wrote Major Shaw, "it was impossible to avoid speaking of the late war. They allowed it to have been a great mistake on the part of their nation — were happy it was over — glad to see us in this part of the world — hoped all prejudices would be laid aside, and added that, let England and America be united, they might bid defiance to all the world." This friendly attitude was later considerably modified by order of the British East India Company whose directors grew seriously alarmed at the increasing proportions of American commerce in China.

Of the foreign trade at Canton the most important by far was the British and next to it the Dutch; Portuguese and Spanish trade were steadily declining, while the Imperialists (the Austrians) had a company, but it was expected to close at any minute. The Swedes and Danes, as well as the French, made their profits from smuggling tea into England until Parliament commuted the duty on that luxury. Before the arrival of the Americans there was no such thing as free trade; Chinese as well as European commerce was subject to the monopolistic system — the foreigners had companies backed by their governments and the Chinese dealt through the Yeung Hong Sheung, or Foreign Associated merchants, known as the co-hong. The British East India Company received its charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1600, and the Crown, vitally interested in its success, refused to allow competition from independent traders. It was an establishment of London merchants who were responsible for turning a commercial route into the world's greatest modern empire. The company had a permanent organization at Canton headed by a Select Committee of Supercargoes, it dominated the home market, although the sale of tea and other merchandise was carefully defined by law, and it controlled the "country trade," that is, the trade between India and China. Its trade mark was so well known it was not considered necessary to examine goods bearing it.

The friendly interest of the Europeans was of great help to the Americans in expediting their introduction into the Chinese system of doing business. The British,

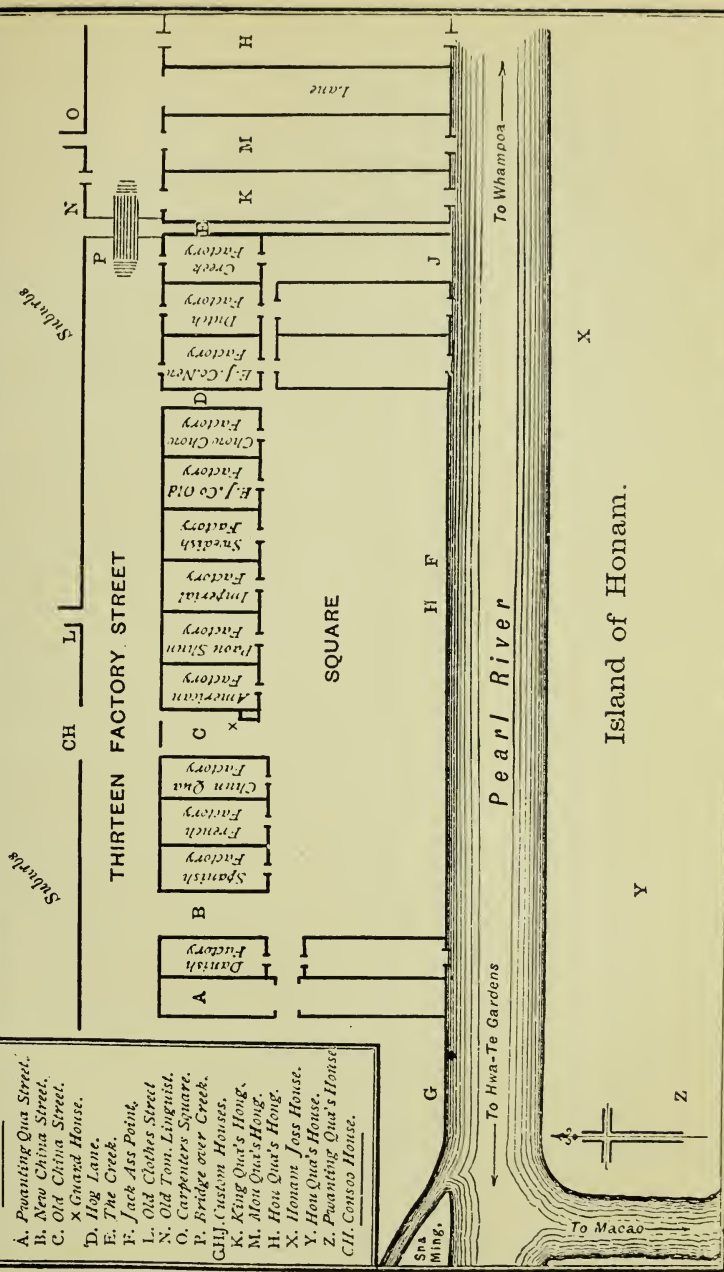
overlooking the "late war," and as yet with no inkling that American free trade was to put their powerful East India Company out of commission were most cordial. The French, still feeling the Americans more or less their protégés, not only insisted that Major Shaw and Mr. Randall stay in their factory, but helped to establish the American factory. These factories, so-called, were not places of manufacture but were used as residences and warehouses by the foreign merchants. The words "factory" and "hong" were practically interchangeable. Each factory or hong had a particular designation. Thus, the Austrian was the "Twin Eagle Hong," the British the "Hong that Insures Tranquillity" and the American received the title of the "Hong of Extensive Fountains" as well as the "Flowery Flag Hong."

Two streets ran through the factory area, China Street and Hog Lane, the former lined with silk and antique shops while the latter abounded in grog shops where the wary Chinese waited for sailors, got them drunk and then robbed them. Hog Lane was the scene of countless brawls which caused difficulties between the foreigners and the Chinese merchants and authorities. Facing China Street from the north stood an extensive and handsome series of buildings known as Consoo House, the council hall of the factories, which was the property of the co-hong merchants and was maintained always in spotless order by funds appropriated for this purpose. This building was used for discussions pertaining to trade and it was here that the taipans, or heads of houses, met the Chinese merchants to talk over old or new regulations or the revision of duty. It was here, too, that the infrequent cases of bankruptcy or other pecuniary troubles were settled.

Before a foreigner could transact any business it was necessary to secure a Chinese merchant to act as guarantor for his ship. In the event no individual would accept this office, either because the cargo did not seem profitable or because the ship's funds were insufficient, the co-hong as a body were obliged to assume the responsibility. In

REFERENCE.

- A. Puanting Qua Street.
- B. New China Street.
- C. Old China Street.
- x Guard House.
- D. Hog Lane.
- E. The Creek.
- F. Jack Ass Point.
- L. Old Clothes Street.
- N. Old Tom, Linguid.
- O. Carpenters Square.
- P. Bridge over Creek.
- GHJ. Custom Houses.
- K. King Qua's House.
- M. Mou Qua's Hong.
- H. Hou Qua's Hong.
- X. Honan Jess House.
- Y. Hou Qua's House.
- Z. Puanting Qua's House.
- CH. Consol House.



PLAN OF THE FACTORIES IN CANTON, ABOUT 1825

From "The Fan Kwae at Canton," by William C. Hunter, in the Ward China Library, Essex Institute

the case of the *Empress of China*, Pwankeiqua became security merchant and thus bound himself as liable to the authorities for the conduct of the Americans.

In 1784 the members of the co-hong numbered eight. The suffix "qua" was a term of respect equivalent to the English "sir." This body of merchants possessed great powers and no other merchant in Canton was allowed business dealings with the foreigners unless under their chop. They were accountable to the authorities for any infringement of regulations on the part of the outer barbarians and were the intermediators between the government officers and the Europeans who were not permitted to address any communication to the officials except through a member of the co-hong and then only in the form of a respectful petition. The commercial character of these merchants was high and their integrity taken for granted as many Americans and others have testified. But of the shopkeepers and small merchants that could not be said. Adepts in the practise of chicanery nothing was too much trouble for them as long as they could make a few extra coppers on a sale and they were past masters in such tricks as stuffing ducks with pebbles to make them weigh more or blowing water into fruits to make them seem larger.

Many of the co-hong, notably the famous Houqua, made tremendous fortunes (it has been estimated Houqua was worth \$26,000,000 at the time of his death), others suffered banishment, even death, for incurring the displeasure of the Viceroy. They were all compelled to pay huge taxes, ostensibly for the relief of the poor, for repairing dams, or other civic projects, but most of the duties levied went to enrich the Imperial exchequers and very little to alleviate the burdens of the masses or to improve the community.

The following conversation took place between Houqua and a foreign friend who had come to see him:

"Well, Houqua, have got news today?"

"Have got too muchee bad news. Hwang Ho (Yellow River) have spillum too muchee."

"Mandarin have come see you?"

"He no come see my. He sendee me one piece chop. He come tomollo. He wantchee my two lac dolla." (A lac is worth \$100,000.)

"You pay how much, Houqua?"

"My pay fitty, sikky tousand so."

"But suppose he no contentee?"

"Suppose he number one no contentee, my pay one lac."

Pwankeiqua was the second most prominent member of the co-hong and was particularly popular with the Americans. At one time he paid \$500,000 to the authorities for the privilege of retiring but when a new Viceroy arrived in Canton he was ordered to resume his office as head of the co-hong. Both he and Houqua owned large estates across the river near the Honam temple and both entertained foreigners in their beautiful gardens which were laid out with fish ponds connected with "airy and fairy-like bridges" and were shaded with palm, orange and other fruit trees. Pwankeiqua, the oldest partner in the co-hong, was held in great regard as a man of letters and because of honors conferred by the Emperor was entitled to three flag-poles with Imperial flags in front of his residence. In 1819 he was made a member of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society. He died in 1824, leaving an estate of \$10,000,000.

"Boston traders," says Morison, "acquired an esteem for the Chinese character which has endured to this day." There are numerous stories of Houqua's generosity. On one occasion he tore up a promissory note for \$72,000 owed him by an American who was anxious to get home but would not leave Canton because he could not pay his debt. Houqua asked him to call. "You and I," said the Chinese, "number one ollo good flen. You belong honest man only no got chance." He called for the note and destroyed it. "Just now have sette counter. You go home, please." On another occasion Houqua accepted the consignment of an American ship having on board a large amount of quicksilver, the price of which was much depressed at Canton. As the season advanced the captain



HOUQUA
Canton Merchant



SAMQUA
Hong Merchant

decided he could wait no longer and must close the sale of his quicksilver, although the proceeds would bring him enough to purchase only a small cargo of teas. The transaction was "puttee book" and Houqua said to the captain, "Ollo flen you shall have full cargo, you pay me next voyage, you no trub'." In the meantime the price of quicksilver advanced sharply owing to a sudden demand in the north and just as the American ship was about to leave, Houqua informed the captain he had cancelled on his books the first purchase and had credited the account with the price of the day. This generous act made it possible for the captain to sail for home with a full cargo all paid for and made a difference in his profits of \$30,000.

The co-hong was responsible for the behaviour of all employees in the factories and no Chinese could offer his services without the recommendation of one of the merchants. To run a factory it was necessary to engage a compradore to supply provisions for both factory and ship. This agent collected "squeeze" on all articles furnished and if the ship were small received, besides, a hundred and fifty taels. Next in importance to the compradore came the linguist who acted as interpreter. The term "linguist" seems a peculiar misnomer, for no Chinese spoke any foreign language and could mimic parrot-like but a few words picked up from the sailors. These intermingled with Chinese and Portuguese phrases was called "pidgin-english." The sound "pidgin" was supposed to be the Chinese attempt to pronounce the word "business." In the main this hybrid speech was limited to a number of mispronounced English and Portuguese words, and for good measure a few Indian phrases, strung together according to Chinese idiom and construction. The words "mandarin" and "compradore" came from the Portuguese meaning to command and count, while "tiffin," "chit," "bazaar" and "coolie" were of Indian origin. Other duties of the linguists were to supply sampans for loading and unloading, and to attend to any business connected with the customs house in the city which the foreigners were not allowed to visit. Their fee was a hun-

dred and twenty taels per vessel. Completing the circle of Chinese who came in contact with the foreigners were the servants and coolies who worked in the factories. It has been claimed they acted as spies whose duty it was to report to the authorities every action and, as much as they were able to understand, every conversation, which took place among the foreigners.

When a ship arrived at Whampoa the Hoppo, accompanied by the co-hong, went out to inspect and measure her. It was the custom to give this official presents when he came on board, which the Americans failed to do. When the Hoppo asked for his "sing-songs" he seemed displeased that none had been brought, but said he would overlook the matter since it was the *Empress of China's* first voyage to the Celestial Kingdom. He enjoined the officers, however, not to overlook the matter a second time. The tax was about four thousand dollars per vessel regardless of size and in addition each article was assessed, but the Chinese, whether buying or selling, paid the duty on goods. After a ship had been measured the security merchant took out a permit for unloading and the linguist provided two sampans for carrying the cargo to Canton. Merchandise was discharged under the watchful eyes of mandarins hovering nearby in their boats. At Canton everything was tabulated and when that was done the supercargoes were at liberty to sell, the choice of goods going to the co-hong, the residue to the small merchants from whom the linguist collected duty and settled with the ship's guarantor.

"Commerce here," wrote Major Shaw, "appears to be, and is, perhaps, as simple as any in the known world." Fourteen years later Captain Edmund Fanning stated, "The usages and customs of trade at Canton make it easy for the supercargoes to attend to their business there with dispatch; in fact, more so than at any other port of the world I have visited." Most of the foreign merchants seem to have agreed with this opinion, although there were some who felt that each nation should show an active protection to its citizens trading in China. On the whole,

things went along smoothly enough as long as there was no government interference; between foreign and Chinese merchants relations were friendly, but the moment officials intervened business suffered and foreigners were compelled to submit to injustices. The Chinese held the whip hand — if anything displeased them they simply stopped trade and as this involved tremendous losses a conciliatory attitude was essential to commerce.

Pwankeiqua offered Shaw and Randall a hundred and fifty dollars a picul for their ginseng, a disappointingly low price compared to what it had brought the season before. A European friend advised them not to sell at once but to wait and exhaust the patience of the Chinese, a difficult thing to do as Randall remarked. Another member of the co-hong put the bid up to a hundred and fifty-five dollars which was accepted, although the price had later to be reduced because the bulk did not prove equal to the sample. Randall wrote to Alexander Hamilton that the ginseng had not been picked at the right season and was not properly culled and garbled to suit the Chinese taste. The remainder of the cargo was sold for about cost; the cordage and wine to the Europeans and the lead and iron, et cetera, to the Chinese.

The profits of the China trade, however, lay not in selling to the Chinese, but in buying teas for consumption abroad. As an English captain noted in his log, "At Whampoa you see English, French, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Italians and Russians. The Americans, too, it seems, have overcome their distaste against tea and have opened a trade for that commodity with the Chinese."

The quality of the tea was determined by the smallness of the leaves and the season in which it was picked. There were many different varieties and the Chinese were as particular about them as the Frenchman about the vintage of his wines. Of black teas the coarsest was Bohea which was picked late in the season. A slightly better grade was Congou, exported in great quantities by the British East India Company. The two best grades of black tea were Souchang, scented with flowers, and Pekoe,

composed of young spring buds. The mandarins used Pekoe packed in small cannisters to send as presents, but it was rarely exported being, like certain wines, too delicate to travel. Of the five different kinds of green tea the cheapest was Twankay which was frequently mixed with the better kinds for export. Hyson skin, or "Flourishing Spring," of which the best of the crop was picked early in the season and prepared with great care, was popular for export. The choicest of green teas were Gunpowder, or Pearl tea, and Yu Tsien, meaning "before the rains"; both were picked in the first warmth of spring.

All tea leaves were carefully dried and rolled by hand, the black trampled on to make them pack more closely, while the delicate green leaves were shaken in baskets before sealing them in chests. When the market in Canton was cleared and business over for the season contracts were made for the next year, sometimes at fixed prices and sometimes at opening prices. These contracts ran into hundreds of thousands of dollars but no written agreement was ever drawn up, nor was anything sealed or attested. A wilful breach of contract was never known to occur. In fact, so proverbial was the honesty of the co-hong that there was no such thing as a receipt or a check book and large amounts of money were carried to and fro by the compradores.

The first Americans at Canton traded under certain disadvantages. They were on their own without government backing and with no powerful organization behind them such as had the British in their East India Company which afforded those trading under its aegis a unified front. The Danes, Imperialists, Swedes and Dutch also had regular establishments, and the French maintained a permanent consul, although he was not recognized as a government official by the Chinese. The Americans were far from home and without ports of refuge such as the European settlements of Macao, Manila, Malacca, Batavia, Sumatra and the Indian ports. On the other hand their very inexperience was an asset, for they could not be accused of intriguing against the Celestial

Empire, nor had they any past history such as the Portuguese of lawless depredations, or the British of armed defense. The Europeans were compelled to pay for their cargoes in specie but Americans procured teas in exchange for the produce of their own country.

A very important factor in the American trade was the superiority of the crews which were composed of young men of good stock, either from New England farms or seafaring families and of a much higher class than the European sailors who, for the most part, were riffraff enlisted or shanghai'd out of the gutters. The American youth went to sea, generally when he was still in his 'teens, because he wanted to, because it was a glorious adventure and because there was a chance of good remuneration for his work. Members of the crews were allowed to buy shipping space and were therefore vitally interested in the outcome of the voyage. They worked willingly and hard but they still had time for a little amusement as the following account shows:

"The sailors had what they called sailors' comfort every Saturday afternoon in the middle watch. It consisted in overhauling their chests and bags, or mending their clothes, on the system, as they said, of putting a patch next to a patch as being neighborly, but never a patch upon a patch as that was beggarly. . . . No happier crew ever rocked the cradle of the deep than the one of which the *Citizen* was composed. This was the result of uniformly taut but considerate treatment, the best of food, good grog, and no needless botheration, while the utmost harmony prevailed between the captain and his officers."

Major Samuel Shaw wrote that after bargaining with a Chinese for several days the following conversation took place:

"You are not Englishman?"

"No."

"But you speak English word and when you first come I no can tell difference; but now I understand very well. When I speak Englishman his price, he say, 'So much — take it, — let alone.' I tell him, 'No, my friend, I give

you so much.' He look at me — 'Go to hell you damned rascal; what! you come here — set a price my goods?' Truly Massa Taipan, I see very well you no hap Englishman. All Chinaman love very much your country."

Major Shaw added, "Thus far it may be supposed the fellows' remarks pleased me. Justice obliges me to add his conclusion:— 'All men come China first time very good gentlemen, all same you. But I think two three more time you come Canton you make all same Englishman too.'"

Europeans and Americans alike were forced to submit to Chinese customs and to yield to the ancient dynastic usage of the Chinese in regard to their treatment of outer barbarians. All foreigners were held in contempt because of their complete ignorance of either the written or spoken language, although according to the laws of the Empire no Chinese was allowed to teach his language to an outsider. The conduct of European sailors was often a cause of disturbance and the French and British seamen carried their hatred to such an extent that they were constantly quarreling, until finally the Chinese allocated the former on an island which afterwards bore the name of French Island. To the peace-loving Chinese such conduct was incomprehensible and when the quarrels assumed serious proportions, trade was stopped and all nations suffered.

The *Empress of China* sailed from Whampoa on December 28th, 1784, with all hands on board except Thomas Randall, who remained in Canton in the interests of Major Shaw and himself. When Major Shaw arrived in New York on May 10th, 1785, he discovered that Daniel Parker had gone to Europe, bankrupt, so the accounts were settled with Thomas Fitzsimmons and Gouverneur Morris, attorney for Robert Morris. After the settlement was made there was a profit of over \$30,000, more than twenty-five per cent of the original capital employed.

III.

The account of the *Empress of China's* reception in Canton might well apply to any American ship in the East India trade up to 1840, for there were few changes in commercial relations until after the Opium War. When Samuel Shaw returned home he wrote a report to the Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, John Jay, who laid the letter before Congress. This august body instructed the Secretary to inform Shaw, "that Congress feel a peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of this first effort of American citizens to establish a direct trade with China, which does much honor to its undertakers and conductors."

Shortly after the *Empress of China* returned home, the *Pallas* put into New York from Canton with Thomas Randall on board. She carried fifty thousand dollars' worth of teas which had been taken on the joint account of Shaw and Randall and which were sold to Robert Morris. The Philadelphia merchant foresaw so much profit in the China trade that he wished to re-engage the two partners to act in his behalf on an extensive plan which would have meant their remaining in Canton for several years, but as terms could not be agreed upon the matter was dropped. The two ships between them carried nearly a million pounds of tea from China to America.

Under the patronage of his old friend General Knox, Shaw accepted the appointment of first secretary in the war office, but soon resigned the position to enter once more in the pursuit of commerce. Engaged by Isaac Sears and other New York merchants he and Randall, without whom he refused to go, embarked again for the Orient, this time on the ship *Hope*, James Magee, captain. Congress commissioned Major Shaw consul at Canton and Thomas Randall vice-consul, although neither of them received a salary or perquisites. The appointments were titles, in recognition of former services, rather than offices to give protection to American citizens abroad — as yet the government displayed no positive attitude toward the East India trade, and though it was recognized as a valu-

able asset to the growing nation it was carried on under the responsibility of individuals.

In the season of 1786-87 there were five American ships at Canton: the *Experiment*, the *Empress of China* and the *Hope*, all from New York, the *Canton* from Philadelphia, and the *Grand Turk*, belonging to Elias Hasket Derby of Salem. The *Grand Turk*, Captain Ebenezer West, arrived in China just after the *Hope* and was the first Massachusetts vessel to sail Far Eastern waters. Her voyages were so profitable they were an inspiration to every New England ship owner.

In the same season there was a great increase in British shipping, both in tonnage and number of ships, and, as might be expected the price of teas advanced twenty-five per cent. The French were doing little business; a new company had been formed, but they themselves declared, *qu'elle ne durera pas longtemps*. Spain was interested more in Manila than Canton, Holland in Batavia, and Portugal in Macao, so the rivalry lay between the British and the Americans. The Americans were welcomed cordially by both Chinese and Europeans, but the British exhibited a marked change of manner. The Company's directors had ordered their supercargoes neither to assist nor in any way encourage American trade and although formal calls were exchanged no further attentions were shown. It was generally felt that the English were aiming not only at the monopoly of the European tea trade, but at exclusive commerce in the Far East. New business houses were being constructed in India and the government prohibited subjects living in that country to sell ships to foreigners.

Major Shaw, having decided to stay in China while Thomas Randall returned to America, left for Macao in company with other merchants at the end of the season. The Chinese, afraid lest the Europeans obtain a foothold in the Celestial Empire, refused to allow them to remain in Canton through the year, so, in the spring, at the close of the northeast monsoon, after the ships had left with their home-bound cargoes, the foreigners repaired to the



MACAO, ABOUT 1850

From a painting in possession of the Peabody Museum of Salem

Portuguese city on the island of Hsiang Shan, eighty-eight miles down river, where they remained for the summer. The annual departure from Canton was quite an affair and required fifteen or twenty boats for each factory to carry passengers, compradores' men, cooks, servants and boats' crews, not to mention supplies for the trip (it took three or four days) of food and wine. When a pass for Macao was desired the linguist was sent for. It was his duty to apply to the co-hong who sent a respectful petition to the Hoppo that the request might be granted. The Hoppo then issued passports which had to be countersigned at West Fort and Che-Nae and certified lists of articles required for the trip, both personal and those that were to be sold in Macao.

The city, enclosed within a wall, was built in amphitheatre shape and sloped gently from the hills towards a magnificent promenade, the Praya-grande, running along the east sea wall. The scene was picturesque and pleasantly European after the long months of Chinese architecture and it was bracing to inhale the fresh sea breezes instead of the fetid odors of the Pearl River. A different diet, too, — fish, poultry, pork and an abundance of fresh vegetables — was a welcome change. Aside from the beneficial effects of climate and diet it was a relaxation to escape for a while the rigorous restrictions under which foreigners labored at Canton.

From the time the Portuguese first leased Macao from the Emperor for five hundred taels a year it steadily grew in importance until it became the great trading center between China and the West. It was especially prosperous during the first half of the eighteenth century, but its ascendancy waned with the cession of Hongkong to the British after the Opium War and from then on its trade declined. The idea that Macao was settled through conquest is erroneous: its possession by the Portuguese may be described rather to Imperial bounty and the ground rent was paid regularly until 1849 when the Governor declared Macao a free port and ordered the Chinese customs house closed. That the Portuguese considered them-

selves tenants and not conquerors is shown in the following letter written by order of the Senate to the Emperor Kang-hsi in 1719:

The Portuguese of Macao who govern the place, Manoel Vincente Rosa, &c, with all the others, have always received immense favors of your Imperial Majesty, whose name fills all the world, and lately a new one bestowed upon us by not being included in the prohibition of navigating the southern seas; we have more than ten thousand mouths to provide for. The favor of not being comprehended in the prohibition is above all comparison great, and certainly we can never acknowledge it as we ought. To show in some way our thankfulness, we have selected a few articles, which we at present transmit to the Viceroy, begging him to have the goodness to present them to your Imperial Majesty, and we shall be very happy, &c. Macao, March 1, 1719.

Signed M. J. Rosa, &c.

Among other presents sent to the Emperor were several cases of the "very best European wine," Amostrina snuff, perfume, gold lace and fire-locks.

By the end of the 18th century the inhabitants of the island were far from being pure-bred Europeans. In the two hundred and seventy years the Portuguese had been in China they had intermarried with Indians, Malays, and other Oriental races to such an extent they no longer retained their native physiognomy and few of them had been west of the Cape of Good Hope. Their language, though called Portuguese, was so mixed with eastern dialects as to be unintelligible to newly arrived Europeans from Lisbon. The descendants of these mixed marriages were known as "mesticos" or Indian-Portuguese.

The government of the island came under two headings: the Chinese population, more numerous than the European, had their own separate government at the head of which were mandarins appointed by the Emperor, and under them Chinese customs officials. All foreigners were subject to Portuguese administration, the authority vested in a governor and a senate, a syndic or civil judge, and a vicar-general for ecclesiastical affairs. The salary of the governor was twelve hundred taels a year, a sum quite

insufficient to support his position and which he was forced to augment by taking an active interest in the trade of the island. Opium was contraband in China proper and could not legally be admitted into any Chinese port, but this ruling did not extend to Macao and the officials had an interest in all shipments smuggled from the island to the mainland, although in 1720 King John had proclaimed that "the Governor is allowed to trade neither in his own name nor in that of any other person."

"It is said," wrote Major Shaw, "that in the season of 1784-85 his emoluments from this article did not fall short of forty thousand dollars, which is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that upwards of two thousand chests valued on an average of three hundred and fifty dollars each are annually brought to China."

Opium was first mentioned in Chinese literature in the eighth century when it was described as a medicine for troubles of the bowels. It could not have been used extensively, however, until the eighteenth century as there is no mention of it in the writings of the Catholic missionaries, who, so meticulous in reporting all details of Chinese life, would surely have referred to it had there been any prevalent use of the drug. The Chinese have many names for it: great smoke, black earth, black commodity and *foreign medicine*. It is probable that the Dutch introduced opium into China from Java where it was often mixed with tobacco. It was also imported, though not in large quantities, by the Portuguese. In the eighteenth century the trade mounted to such proportions that the Emperor Yung-cheng issued an edict against smoking it and toward the end of the century a restriction was placed on importation and it was banned throughout the empire. In 1820 His Excellency the Viceroy of Canton warned customs officials not to allow any ship carrying opium to be admitted into the port, cautioning them "not to view this document as a mere matter of form and so tread within the net of the law, for you will

find your escape as impracticable as it is for a man to bite his own navel."

During the latter half of the eighteenth and the early half of the nineteenth centuries there was little pretense on the part of either the Chinese or the foreigners to respect opium regulations. Illegal duties were levied by petty officials, foreigners continued to import the drug and both found it profitable. Opium was smuggled mostly in British bottoms because of the large accessible supply in India, but American ships were by no means guiltless of offense. It was a common proceeding for Americans to add a cargo of Turkish opium on their way east; the drug was the foundation of many an American fortune as well as British. Only one American firm in Canton, Olyphant and Co., refused to have anything to do with the trade. Indian opium was prepared with great care to suit the Chinese taste, as well it might be since the export tax brought in a tremendous revenue. It was stated in one of the many parliamentary debates pro and con, the shipping of opium that, financially, it was a matter of life and death to the British government in India.

In 1787 the Governor of Macao found his "emoluments" considerably reduced because the English, instead of transferring opium to Portuguese vessels, ordered one of their own ships to Lintin in the Pearl River to act as a depository for the drug. Chinese merchants repaired to this receiving ship, paid in advance for goods, and for every chest received handed over twenty dollars cumsha to the petty customs officials who were plying to and fro in their sampans watching the proceedings with eagle eye.

The Portuguese were the only foreigners allowed to own property on the island and other Europeans, when renting houses, were compelled to submit to any unjust claim of the owners. Residences might be let in wretched condition but if improved at the expense of the lessee, higher rents were demanded by the proprietors, who, if the demands were not met, took over the houses at the end of the season when the tenants returned to Canton

no matter for how many years the places had been leased. On one occasion the Swedish house, the best in Macao, which had cost the company eight thousand dollars to repair and improve, was unwillingly relinquished to the Governor whose lady had taken a fancy to it and the Swedes were compelled to move into His Excellency's house — much to their disadvantage. Another time a British supercargo was ordered to vacate the premises he had rented and put in living order so that they might be turned over to a new syndic who was expected shortly from Goa. This he refused to do and barricaded his doors. The next day his house was broken into and he was seized and held in the dungeon of the tronco for almost a week. The syndic, happily a little more punctilious than his countrymen, refused to live in the house when he heard of the man's plight — that is, longer than it would take him to find another.

Except for the Governor and his wife and one or two of the leading families, foreign merchants saw little of the Portuguese whom they considered idle, consequently poor, and ignorant and superstitious in the extreme. Two and a half centuries of indolent living had obliterated all traces of the vigor and initiative which characterized the early settlers on the island. In spite of the many differences existing between natives and visitors the merchants were far more comfortable at Macao than in the factories. The large and commodious houses were well adapted to entertaining and the social life was much gayer than that of the factories. Faro and dancing were the chief amusements, boating was another pastime, and parties were frequently formed to attend the public concerts which were held twice a week. Macao at that time had the reputation of being the most immoral place in the world, a kind of Monte Carlo of the Pacific, and was filled with gambling halls and other places of pleasure where the gallants, when not enjoying balls and dinners with the ladies, might betake themselves.

As for the sailors Macao was a port beyond compare offering every amusement to those who had endured long

months at sea. Chinese orders were stringent in insisting that foreigners must not have any connection whatsoever with Chinese women, the penalty being either imprisonment or a heavy fine, and while the crews at Whampoa no doubt managed to evade this proclamation, nevertheless Macao offered more freedom with less danger of running afoul of the law.

Notorious as was the reputation of the city it presented a saintly front clustered with churches, monasteries and convents which, as well as judicial and executive buildings, hospitals and jails, were handsomely constructed of shining white stone. Of private houses the most famous was "Casa da Horta," built on rising ground overlooking the city and harbor, and with a garden celebrated not only for its beauty, but as being the spot where Camoens wrote the "Lusiad," immortalizing his adventurous countrymen who first doubled the Cape of Good Hope. The houses were either painted white or washed with lime and with the public buildings formed a city glistening in the sunshine and reflected in the blue waters below.

There were never at any time many foreign women in Macao; a few Portuguese, some wives of ship's captains, a handful of colonial Dutch women from Java and one or two wives of missionaries. Her Excellency the Governor's wife was "sensible, artful, and when she pleases, very agreeable." It was a custom to entertain their Excellencies at least once, and sometimes oftener, at dinner although they never felt it their duty to return the courtesy. The Governor, a native of Goa, was singularly uninformed for one in his position and from all accounts must have been rather dull. At a dinner in the year 1787 he asked whether or not the war between England and the American colonies was yet at an end! A senator, on overhearing the question and on being informed that England had lost much in losing the colonies, replied, "Ah, but they have taken Pulo Pinang."

Whether or not the conduct of the Portuguese was advantageous to other Europeans following in their foot-

steps their tenure of Macao was of undoubted benefit. The island was a haven for all foreigners; in the heat of summer, in times of sickness, in avoiding the ire of the Cantonese officials, and it was a base for missionary activity. Though nominally under Chinese sovereignty, it was a meeting ground of the West and the only one off the coast of China where foreigners might be free from the ever constant surveillance of petty officialdom.

Major Shaw returned home in 1790 for the launching of his ship, the *Massachusetts*, nine hundred tons. She was built in Quincy especially for the China trade on Shaw's order for the firm of Shaw and Randall by contract with Eli Hayden of Braintree and the master builder was Daniel Briggs of a family famed for its shipbuilders. When brought to Boston under jury masts, the *Massachusetts* excited considerable attention for she was the largest merchant ship at that time in America. Numerous applications were made for stations on board and curious throngs swarmed over her decks, among them French and British officers from men-of-war in the harbor, who were unanimous in their admiration. In spite of compliments and praise, the crew was changed three times before sailing because of a last minute prediction by old Moll Pitcher of Lynn that the vessel would be lost with all hands. The *Massachusetts* sailed from Boston on March 28th, 1790, Job Prince, captain, and the first and second officers were Josiah Roberts and Amasa Delano. Also on board were the owner and his brother Nathaniel. As the ship neared Java Head it was discovered the reckoning was out and the vessel off her course. "All this loss of time," wrote Amasa Delano, "happened on account of our not having any chronometer on board, nor any officer who knew anything about lunar observations. Every officer should furnish himself with a good brass sextant. A wooden sextant is worse than nothing." The *Massachusetts* was not alone in lacking proper instruments — the wonder is that American ships got to Canton at all!

In Java friendly natives brought fowl, parrots, monkeys, pigs, plantains, melons, sweet potatoes, cocoanuts,

oranges, green turtles, and a great number of malacca canes to exchange with the crew in return for old knives, old clothes or other trifles, but should a Dutch boat appear on the horizon they beat a hasty retreat being in great fear of the Hollanders. This, perhaps, gives a little insight into Dutch methods of colonization at that time.

In Batavia, because of Major Shaw's rank of consul at Canton and because the *Massachusetts* was a credit to them everywhere, the Americans were courteously received by the officials of the island though the Governor was surprised, indeed somewhat shocked, to find a consul doing business like an ordinary speculating merchant. He remarked that if the American government were unable to pay its officers it would do better to keep them at home. Major Shaw had expected to change his cargo at Batavia for one suitable to Canton but the Dutch authorities refused a permit.

Just off the China coast the ship was caught in a typhoon but weathered the gale despite Moll Pitcher's warning, although a Dutch ship was lost with four hundred thousand dollars on board and a Danish ship was completely dismantled. In Canton the *Massachusetts* was visited constantly by all the Europeans who examined her from stern to bow and acknowledged her to be the handsomest vessel in port. She was loaded mainly with green timber which had been taken on board while it was still wet and the lower hold thus filled had been tightly closed from Boston to China. When it was opened the air was found to be so corrupt that it put out a lighted candle, the beef was almost boiled, the hoops rotted and were falling off and the inside covered with a thick blue mold more than half an inch thick. At the time a mistaken idea prevailed that air should be prevented from circulating through the hold, yet not many years later Americans had learned how to transport ice from Labrador which they sold from Calcutta to Canton!

Since the cargo of the *Massachusetts* was practically ruined and the firm's debts had increased Major Shaw decided to sell the ship to the Danish company who were



ESHING

Silk Merchant of Canton

Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem



SEYYID SAID

Sultan of Zanzibar

Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem

anxious to replace theirs which had been dismantled in the typhoon. John Bartlett, a member of the crew, reported in his log that the vessel was sold for \$65,000 and "if such were the truth," says Tyler Dennett, "the venture had by no means ended in disaster for it is unlikely that the *Massachusetts* cost more than \$40,000." The crew, thirty-eight Americans and twenty-three Englishmen, were obliged to find other ships on which to sail. John Bartlett and eight other men shipped on the snow *Gustavus* bound for the northwest coast of America. Amasa Delano, having earned a great reputation repairing the Danish ship, had no trouble in finding a place on board a British vessel, where, he wrote, although he was an American with all the associations of the late war the officers treated him with courtesy. With American independence of manner he insisted on being under orders to the captain only.

By the turn of the century American trade with the Orient was well established. American ships sailed the seven seas, always with one aim, to find something they could exchange in Canton for teas. Yankee mariners fought with pirates in the Mediterranean and off the Malay coast, they rounded South America in search for furs and added sandalwood and bêche-de-mer to their cargoes in the Pacific islands, they carried ice from Labrador to India and picked up coffee and spices on their way home. The government was still in no position to render active help or protection, but trade, though heterogeneous and lacking cohesion, thrived from the beginning under the impetus of the youths — they were on an average less than thirty years of age — who engaged in it.

The sea brought to Americans new freedom of thought, a new confidence in themselves. Captains begged for American crews pointing out their superiority over all other nationalities and everybody shared in this enthusiasm. The China trade was the source of wealth in the northern states before the era of mills and factories, but more than that it was the stimulant which awakened the imagination of the people and added color and adventure

to their lives. Youths and old men thrilled to stories of savage Indians, of Owhyee chiefs draped in capes of multi-colored plumage, of Tripolitan pirates and of unfathomable Chinese merchants, which, in the telling lost no flavor. Tea, of course, was the great incentive but almost as important, there was not a woman in America who did not crave a brilliant Chinese shawl, a piece of carved ivory or a set of Canton plates.

(To be continued.)

CONTRIBUTION OF EBENEZER SHILLABER,
SALEM SHIPPING MERCHANT, TO
PHILLIPS ACADEMY, ANDOVER,
1782.

M ^r Ebenezer Shillaber to Phillips Academy, Dr.	
Toward the support of the Preceptor from	
6 Nov ^r 1782 to this day	£0.17. 3
To the support of the Assistant do.	0.13.11
	<hr/>
	£1.11. 2

Andover 16 April 1783.

N. Abbot, Tresr.

LETTERS WRITTEN BY JOSIAH ADAMS OF NEWBURY DURING SERVICE IN THE REVOLUTION.

Among the Adams manuscripts acquired recently by the Essex Institute are several interesting letters written by Josiah Adams to his family, while in the service during the Revolutionary War. Josiah Adams was born in the Byfield part of the town of Newbury on April 3, 1757, the son of Samuel and Mary (Jewett) Brown Adams, and died there, unmarried, on January 5, 1852. His father was a shrewd business man and accumulated a large property for those days. When the news of the Battle of Lexington reached Newbury at eleven o'clock in the night, it is said at once all was excitement at the homestead.¹ The father and his sons quickly gathered their old lead and run bullets while the mother cooked and mended in preparation for their departure. The next morning Samuel with his sons David and Josiah started for Lexington, while another son Stephen, then only fourteen years old, but standing six feet four inches in his stockings, took his father's place in the service a few months later. The father at this time was nearly sixty years of age. The Adams homestead became a rendezvous for all the patriots in the neighborhood.

Josiah Adams, at the age of eighteen, enlisted as a private in Capt. Jacob Gerrish's Company, Col. Moses Little's Regiment, on April 24, 1775, and served until August 7, 1775. This company was mostly composed of Newbury men, with a few from Rowley and Newburyport. Four companies of Little's Regiment were armed and equipped in season to participate later in the Battle of Bunker Hill, in which they lost forty, killed and wounded. He was with the army in New York, Long Island and New Jersey through 1776, was in camp at Peekskill in 1777 and returned to camp at Winter Hill the latter part of that year. He served as clerk and quartermaster. He was also an Adjutant in Col. Jacob Ger-

¹ *Essex Antiquarian*, vol. 2, p. 41.

rish's Regiment of Guards, according to a return of officers dated Winter Hill, January 22, 1778, and served from April 1 to July 3 of that year. On July 12, 1778, he was commissioned 1st Lieutenant in the Massachusetts Militia and detached to guard troops of the convention, and until December 12, 1778, was attached to Capt. Richard Rogers' Co., Col. Jacob Gerrish's Regiment.

Josiah's brothers, Stephen, David and Samuel, also saw service in the Revolution; the two last named settled in Derry, N. H., after the war. Josiah lived and died on the ancestral acres in the old Adams homestead in Newbury-Byfield, engaged in the peaceful pursuits of husbandry, dying at the age of eighty-four.

The letters follow:

In Camp at the lines Sep^{tr} 6 1775

Hon^d Parents:

I rec^d your letter y^e 5th of this Instant & I gladly embrace this opportunity to Inform you that I am Well hoping these few lines will find you so. As you wrote me in your letter, y^t you thought it best for me to Stay, With y^e Colonel, if I Could be Contented, I would Inform you, y^t I have no thoughts of leaving him at present. (Unless) I Could Get A Furlough For a Few days to Come home and see you, I Expect to receive one Months Wages this day, (Or very Soon,) and I determine to Try to Get A Furlough for a Few days, as Soon as I have rec^d My Fifteen pound Which is one Months Wages,) But the orders are So Exceeding Strict Concerning Soldiers leaving y^e Camp, that I dont know Whether I Shall make out to Get one or Not, and If I should Not Get one, I am, If I should Continue Well, and Nothing falls out Extraordinary, determin'd, to stay some time longer, and how much longer, I Cant tell, but When I'm Got so home sick y^t I Cant Stay no longer, or If I should be sick, I shall immediately send up a Letter for David to Come down. I have Nothing Special to Write Concerning y^e late transaction Among us, only they are Inlisting a Considerable Number of Soldiers to March to Cannady, but I Believe I shall stay While my first Inlistment is out, Before I list so I Conclude With my Humble Duty to yourseles, hoping you wont forget me In

your prayers, and beg the Favour of you to Remember my kind love to all my Brothers and Sister

Which is at Present all
From your Ever dutifull and
Obedient Son

(love to all as is due)

Josiah Adams

Superscribed:

Letter from

M^r Sam^l Adams

Prospect Hill

In

To Sam^l Adams

Newbury

In Camp, Octo^r 8 1775

Hon^d Sir:

Having an Oppertunity to write to you, It is with A Great Deal of Pleasure that I now Imbrace it, I would Inform you that I am Well and In Prety Good Health, Altho, there's Many of my Fellow Creatures that lies Sick around Me, There was three of Capt Gerrishes Company Carried of Sick this week, two of which Is Soppos'd to have Settled Fever, Will^m Currier and Mark Anthony, and y^e Other Verry Feverish.

I received your Letter and a Grego and a Pair of Mittens So having Nothing New Which is to be depended upon Concerning Publick Affairs to Inform you of, I would Conclude With my Humble duty to yourself, hoping that you will Let me hear From you at Every Convenient Opportunity, and I Beg y^o Favour of you to Give my kind love to all my Brothers and Sister Which is all at Present, From your Ever

Obedient and
and Dutyful son
Josiah Adams.

Superscribed:

Lett. from

To M^r Sam^l Adams

Cambridge

In Newbury

In Camp Prospect Hill March 14 1776

Hon^d Parents

These Inform you that we are at present in our old Encampment, but it is a wond^r if I have Another Oppertunity to Inform you so—

Several Regiments have lately Marched for New York. We are all strictly Commanded in Generals Orders, to be ready to March at an Hours warning, I have some hopes of Coming

home before I set out, but whether y^e Present situation of Affairs will Admit of it or not I can't tell, I Should be exceeding Glad to have your Advice Upon Y^e Matter, As You Well know My Constitution &c—

If I Should Come Home it will be Verry Soon in ord^r to get some Shirts and some other things which will be Necessary— So having but a Moments time I Conclude with my Humble duty to Yourselves, begging You would Give my love to all my Brothers and Sister—

I hope you will send me A letter as soon as Possible If I Should not Come Home—

I am with all Respect Your ever
dutiful and Obedient

Son

Josiah Adams

Superscribed:

Fav^d by M^r
Currier

To M^r Sam^l Adams
In Newbury

New York April 24 1776

Hon^d Parents—

Having an Oppertunity to Write you it is with Pleasure that I now embrace it, Informing you that I am well Hoping these few lines will find you so. We arrived at New York on the 21st of this Instant and Wee still Continue in the City of New York but whether we shall be stationed here for the Summer or not I cant tell, It is Said by Some we are to go to long Island, which is about fifteen miles from the Place which we are now Stationed in— New York is a Very Pleasant Place, Grand Buildings &c. Goods of all sorts are Very dear. Two Very fine Regiments from Pennsylvania are Stationed in New York, and Sundry other Regiments from all parts. The City of New York is extreemly well fortifyd Against Y^e Enemies in many parts of it. A Vast Number of Fatigue men are Daily employ,d to Compleat the fortification which will soon be accomplished.

I am now about three Hundred miles of from Home Yet I must Consider I have the same Protector and Saviour here as I Should have there. I am in a Very Vile and wicked Place. I beg Your Prayers for me, hope the Great distance that we are Called by Providence to be from each Other won,t Cause us to forget one another— The post is now waiting for me I have had but about ten Minutes to

write, I hope you will excuse both writing and Composure.

My Humble duty to yourselves

Pray Give my kind love to all my Brothers and Sister

From Your Ever Dutifull and

Obedient Son

Josiah Adams

N. B. A letter left at M^r Dudley Colmans May be immediately Conveyed to me.

P. S. I met with the Misfortune on y^e way to loose Eight Dollars in money which I shall never find.

Superscribed:

To M^r Samuel Adams

In Newbury Falls

Newingland

Good Friend be kind Enough to send it as soon as Possible
P^r Post)

New York April 30th 1776

D^r Brothers

It is now about three months since we saw one another, at our fathers House, I have never had the Pleasure of Receiving so much as one line from either of You, while I was at Cambridge, You might have had oppertunity to send one almost every day, since I have March'd from there to New York, several Persons have Come from Newbury to New York, Abraham Thorla in Particular who Came right by the door, I would not be willing to think it is for want of reguard to me that you Neglect it, but if I should not receive a letter from one or more of You (Provided you have oppertunity to send, I should have too much reason to suspect it is— Paper Visits are better than none, and as we are at Present debar'd from any other way of conversing with, or Hearing from each other, I hope we shan't forget to pay our Respects due to each other as we now respectively stand connected.

I am now Engaged in the service, in the defence of every thing that is near and dear to freeman—I trust the Cause that I am now engaged In is Just and good and as it is so order'd that america should be involved in such an Unnatural war, I think I fell myself in [torn] Willing to share Y^e fate of it with my fellow Countrymen.

I hope we Shall have oppertunity of seeing and Conversing with each other Again but however that may be determined,

or however we may be separated while here if we might so behave and Conduct ourselves that we might meet together in another and better State, where wars and fighting Cease it would be Happy for us—

Which is the desire of your

Very loving Brother
Josiah Adams

Superscribed :

To M^r Joseph, Samuel David,
& Stephen Adams
all in Newbury Falls
Massachusetts Bay

New York April 30th 1776

Hon^d Madam :

I have this Day heard from Home, that You were all well, which was very Pleasing to me) and it would have been more Pleasing to me to have had A few lines from You, which I very much expected, Seeing the Messenger, Abraham Thorla, Which brout me the news was so Nigh You.

Six Regiments have lately Imbark,d from this Place for Quebeck, Colo Little did but Just escape being one of them) We are now orderd to long Island to Pitch our Tents, there, which is about six or Eight Miles distance from the City, New York; (expect to move to morrow) If the weather should be Good. Which I hope will be the last move, before we move for Newbury, (but have not much reason to think it will be)

Long Island I am Informed is a Very Pleasant place Especially that part of it to which we are a going to Move to— David informed me the last time he Came to Cambridge That you was not very willing to have me march to new York, but I hope since Providence has So order'd it, that you wont Give Yourself too much unesiness about me.

If it should please God to spare my life I something expect to Come Home Next January, and not before (Unless we are order'd back again (which is not very Probable that we shall be— There has several Persons broks out with the Small Pox, belonging to General Greens Brigade to which Wee belong (As I am Informed) which is suppos'd to have taken the Infection in Boston about y^e Time David and I went in) I was very unesy for some days After

D we went in; for fear what the Consequences would be,
but it Turned out better than my fears—
The Small Pox is in several Places of the City of New York—
Now at this time—

So having nothing more to Inform You of) After my
Humble Duty to Yourself, I would beg the Favour of you
to give it to my Hon^d Father, and love to all my Brothers
and Sister, which at Present all, from Your Ever Dutifull
and Obedient

Child

Josiah Adams

N.B. I hope you will embrace Every oppertunity of Writ-
ing me.

J.A.

(Love to all as is due)

Superscribed:

To M^r Samuel Adams

In Newbury Falls

In the Massachusetts Bay of New England

(This with Care)

In Camp Long Island June 6 1776

Dear Brother:

I received Yours of the 29th of May by the hands of
Capt Kent, which Inform'd me that You were all well
except my Brother Brown, who was sick of a Fever, which
News I was very Sorrow to hear of— We have Had a
Very Unexpected Visit paid us, By M^r Little and Capt
Kent, who arrived at our Quarters on Long Island: In about
a Week after they left Newbury— I am Inform'd by Capt
Kent that M^r Joseph Hale and Wife, lay Very low With
y^e Fever when he Came away, Should be Glad You would
in your next letter, Let me hear how they do; If they are
living and how Nathaniel Brown is, in Perticular. It is
Needless for me to write anything Concerning our Publick
Affairs, for the Bearer Capt Kent Will be able to Inform
You More Particular than I should have patience to write—
I should be very Glad to See You, or any of my other
Brothers, but we are at So far a distance at present that,
I have but Little Expectation of Seeing any of You before
my time is out which I inlisted for. Then I expect
If I am alive and well, to Set my face towards NewY.

M^r Kent tells me, he believes Enoch Adams and Nathan
made out Poorly about making Salt Peter, I should be Glad

to hear how Much they made if You Can find it out. You may think it strange of my Inquiring About such matters that dont Concern me but I han't seen any of my old Acquaintance so long, it makes me More Solicitous of hearing about Affairs— So being Sensible that I have wrote as much as You will have Patience to read—Unless it was more En[ter]taining) I Conclude With my kindest regards to You and to all Inquiring friends—

This from Your Ever Respectfull
and loving Brother

Till Death

Josiah Adams

NB Close of all sorts are Excessive dear, I havn't taken Up any thing yet but my Coat but I expect I must before my time is out.

J A

Superscribed:
Mr David Adams
In Newbury Falls

In Camp Long Island June 11 1776

D^r Brother;

These lines are to Inform You that I am not unmindfull of You, altho at so Far a distance, I Should have been Glad to have had a letter from you by M^r Kent but I Suppose you Had not a convenient Oppertunity to write I hope it was not for want of respect that You omitted it—

I have Nothing In Perticular to write You Concerning our Affairs but What M^r Kent will be Able to Inform You of—I hope in about sevin Months time to have Oppertunity to see You, If I should live and have My Health, but that is uncertain,—I am very Sorry to hear that my Brother Brown is sick, I hope the next news I hear will be that he is Better—

You must Give my kindest regards to my Brother Joseph in Particular, and to all Good Old Friends—

This from Your loving Brother

Josiah Adams

N.B. After You have read as much of these letters as you think is Worth Your Notice, Commit them to the flaines— The Postage was Cheap I should not have sent so many

J A

Superscribed:
To M^r Sam^l Adams Jun^r
In Newbury

In Camp Long Island July 7th 1776

D^r Sister—

These lines Come with my kindest love and Regards to Your hoping they will find You Well as I am at this time. D^r Sister Your are now In the right Age to learn to read; If ever you desire to be a good Reader You Must Improve all the time you can Get, when your mother Can Spare you, in Studying Your Book) I Intreat of You to improve every Oppertunity that you may have, in learning to read and Spell, If You learn to read well You will find if ever You live to Grow up It will be one of the Greatest Accomplishments You Can Aspire After.

I hope what I have wrote wont be taken Amiss by any) for I can truly Say It out of pure love and regards to her and to y^e Family—

This from Your Ever loving and Affectionate

Brother

(Love to all as is due)

J Adams

Superscribed:

To Jenney Adams

In Newbury Falls

Saterday Night 10 °Clock

Long Island July 20 1776

Dear Brothers,

On the 18 of June last I receiv,d a letter from You, which Informed me, that you were neither sick nor well but so that you were Able to keep About. I was Sorry to hear that you were not in Good Health. but I'm glad that you are so well as to keep About. Health is the Greatest Blessing we Can be made Partaken of, without which we Can Enjoy no kind of Happiness in any of The things of this life, and but very little when blest with it but may our hearts be so wean,d from the things of time and sence as Aspire After things which will afford us Joy and Comforts, even in the time of Publick Calamities.

For my Part I am So prone to evils and So Averse to every thing that is Good, that I have but little face or Inclination to write About things, which we Shall all See Sooner or later, are of the Greatest Importance to us Tho' I am sensible that I should write these Lines with shame If I had a Proper sence Of things. God Grant that all our eyes may be Opened to see things as we ought. As to News

Concerning our Publick Affairs I dont hear of much at Present, but what I have Informed of before, in my former letter. It has been reported that several ships belonging to General Hows Fleet saild from them some days Past, in order to Come round us to Cut of the Communication between y^e New England Colonies and us, but how, or which way they will go to work, to do it, I can't Say. The Adjutant General of the Forces under the Command of General How, This day Came out as Flagg of Truce, and waited upon his Excellency George Washington at, one Col: Knox's Quarters at New York.

The Disentary and Bloody Flux Prevails very Much in the Camps, we have Numbers sick At the Hospital, with that disease, as well as with Many Others we have so many Sick that Wee are Glad to make Hospitals of Barns for them.

having no more to write After my kindest Regards to You, Give them to all My Brothers and Sister

This from your Ever loving Brother
and Faithfull Friend
Till Death

Josiah Adams

Superscribed:

To M^r Joseph And Stephen Adams
In New^{by} Falls

In Camp Long Island July 29 1776

Hon^d S^r:

I have Nothing new Concerning our Publick Affairs to Inform You of Since I wrote You last by the post, which letter I Suppose You have rec^d before this time, I am Inform'd that there has been a Number of Troops raised out of the Massachusetts to go to Quebeck, also that there is a Number More to be rais'd for that purpose; If any Should go from Newbury Falls, that I am acquainted with, should be Glad you would Inform me who they are in Your next letter, I am Inform'd that some have Given 60 dollars to get Clear of Going to Quebeck, (they had money Plenty I presume), If not it is a wonder if they want Cowards—For my Part I Should like it as well to be at Quebeck as where I now am Provided there was as Good accommodations for Quarters &c as Wee have here and I suppose there is—but it is needless for me to dwell upon this Sub-

ject, for I believe we are stationed for this Campaign—Billious Fever, disenteries, and the Bloody Flux prevail very much throughout our Camp, Upwards of Seventy Persons Belonging to the Army were Carried to the Hospital in one day out of the City of York—we have A Considerable number sick in our Reg^t but I hope there is but a few if any, but What will recover—

So having nothing more to write I Conclude

With My humble duty to you and my Mother
and kindest love and regards to all my

Brothers and Sister

From Your Affectionate Son

Monday Night 11 oClock

I hope you will excuse my bad Writing and Composure (sleep had Almost Closed my eyes several Times whilst I was writing.

Superscribed:

To M^r Samuel Adams

In Newbury New England

In Camp Brokline on Long Island

Aug^t 5 1776

Hon^d S^r:

Since my last, there has been a Considerable Number of Ships Added to the Fleet und^r the Command of General How. His whole Fleet Which now lays in plain sight of our Encampment Consists of 190 Sails—

Our people have Got several Fire Rafts Almost Completed, which they determine to send down river as soon as they are finished, to pay their fleet a Visit—Men have been drafted for that business (some from our Reg^t) I believe. They have got a sufficient Number for that duty—3 days since.

Our People went up the North River With a Number of Rogalleys with Cannon and Amunitions on board Ingaged with their two ships Which went from the Fleet up the North River some time ago; Which I Inform'd you of In a former letter—

The ingagement Continued about two hours a heavy Cononade kept up on both sides—It said our people Hulled one of their Ships several times, but what other execution our people have done to them I hav't as Yet ascertain'd. One man killed on our side, on board the Rogalleys and one Cannon Split.—

Two Regulars deserted, and Came to us last Night—I am told that they Say we are to be attack'd (in two or three days) upon this Island. It looks very Probable to me that If they are determin'd to make a push this Year they will do it very soon— Our Army is very Sickly in this Place; In Col Parsons Reg^t there upwards of 200 that are sick and Unfit for duty—we have in our Reg^t About 40 Sick in Camp (a number at the Hospitals—Capt Gerrish is unwell, but so that he keeps About—

Nothing more at present

My duty to my Mother and love to my Brothers and Sister—
from your obedient Son

J:Adams

N.B. I hope you will excuse my writing, the bearer of this allow'd me but a few minutes to write. (being in haste.
Superscribed:

To M^r Samuel Adams

att Newbury Falls New England

To be left at M^r Dudley Colmans Inholder—

Thursday morning)
at break of day)

In Camp on Long Island Aug^t 23^d 1776

Hon^d S^r

Our Inverate Enemy, by the best Intelligence (we learnd Yesterday, About 10 °Clock, began to Land Upon Long Island some Considerable Distance from this Place—we Are Inform'd that they landed About Nine Thousand in the Whole) 5000 of the British Soldiers and 4000 of the Hussians, which have Advanced towards us, as far as the Rifle mens Encampment, The Riflemen has retreated and Join'd us. We have sent of a Number to Ambush them, how many I am not Able to say—We are now Every moment looking for an Engagement to Ensue, It is thought by our People that they will make an Attack on both sides of us, One side with their shipping and what forces they have now Aboard, and one the Other side with those that are Landed.

We have had a Number of Troops reinforce us Yesterday and, last Night from New York—

General Green at this Critical Moment Lays Very Ill with the fever and Bloody Flux. Our Troops are high in Spirits—

The Bearer this Instant Sets out—Love to All Friends,
from Your Ever

Dutifull and Obedient Son

J Adams

Superscribed:

To Mr Sam^l Adams

att Newbury Falls New England

In Camp Long Island Aug^t 29th 1776

Hon^d Sr:

I have something New to Inform you of Since my last. On the 22^d Instant the Regulars landed on Long Island took possession of Flat lands About Four miles Distance from this Place, Our people Took possession of the Ground between us, and them, sent out Picquit Guards and detached Parties as many as they Thought Necessary—

A large Body of Regulars on Munday Night About 3 oClock attack'd our Parties Upon the Right Wing and Another party, with their light horse in their front with one or two field Pieces, attacked our left Wing which obliged our people to retreat back into the Woods, they Continued their march with all Possible haste, surrounded a party of ours, which was Commanded by Gen^l Lord Sterling. He with the party under him, Fought Valiantly Repulsed one of their Parties, which Attack'd him, But their party upon the Otherside Continued their fire, So fiercely, That our party retreated, It is supposed lord Sterling, Fell at that time, he is missing, Gen^l Sullivan is missing. Great Part of our Regiment was out upon the Scout at that Time, they have all return'd but Three or four, Brigad^r Gen^l Parsons, Informs that he see 30 dead Regulars lay in one Place Besides A Considerable Number which the Regulars had Thrown together in Ord^r to Bury—Col: Huntingtons Regiment of Connecticut are the biggest Part of them missing, I see Capt Joseph Jewell The day Before he marched out, he was well (he is now missing, Daniel Farnham is missing, One Eng^r Raiments Sons was with him) D^r Gibbeth Jewett is in the Army Surgeon to a Reg^t, he is now In New York unwell The Enemy have Got Possession of all the hills and Eminences upon one side of us) they have landed their Whole Force, All their light horse are here, They are supposed to be 20 or thirty thousand Strong, they are so Nigh us that we are Obliged to keep our lines Manned Night

and Day. We have a Gen^l Council now setting, I imagine we shall have Orders to Attack them, where they are (or retreat) for they are preparing to Canonade and Bombarde us as fast as possible, in two days from this, they will be Able as to Open their Batteries upon all Parts of us,—

This is the most Critical Moment that Ever A man Saw, The fate of Unborn Millions is now depending upon the Conduct of Our Army, (wee must resolve to Conquer or die)

I hope you will Continue to write Every Oppertunity so Long As I am Absent from you. The Instruments of Death are Dailey Flying Thick Around us, whose lot it will be to fall God Only knows Numbers have already Fallen, and no Doubt but Numbers more are to fall It seems hard, that we must be Called to Jeopard our lives, In defence of that which Our fore fathers have so Dearly Purchased, and left for us, their Posterity, But since we see our all at stake, Life Liberty Property and all That Is dear to Freemen, I think it behooves Every American to Exert himself, and Fight Valiantly for the Countries and Cities of our God— So fearing that I shall weary your Patience to Read it, I Conclude with my Humble duty to Yourself beg you would Give y^e same to my Hon^d Mother and Love to all my Brothers and Sister.

I am with all respect Your Ever dutifull and Obedient Son,
Josiah Adams

New York, Sep^r 1 1776

NB: I am Sorry to Inform you That we have been Obliged to retreat from Long Island, The Day I wrote the Above Letter, we had a Ger^l Council Setting (As I Informed You in the Above) the Night Insueing About Ten °Clock We had Express Orders from his Excellency General Washington to Strike our Tents, Gather up our Baggage, and repair to New York, with all [torn] Possible, but with as Little Noise as might be, so that the Enemy might not Get Intelligence. Accordingly the Troops Obeyed and repaired to the City.

In the morning at about an hour by sun, The Regulars Marched Down to the ferry, where we Came Over—we had then, Three or four Small Boats full of men, which had Just left the Island, and were Crossing the Ferry to New York, who Were then in Gunshott of the Enemy, They

Fired Upon them, killed and Wounded a Number of them, how many I have not as yet Assertain'd; Capt Jewett and Daniel Farnham, I have heard Nothing from as Yet. Gen^l Sullivan is taken Prisoner they have suffered him to Come out upon the Parole of honour for a few Hours—Lord Sterling I am Inform'd Is likewise a Prisoner.

We are now in New York City Expect Every hour that the Ships will fire upon the City—It has been hinted that Gen^l Washington has) or is Determined to Destroy the City by Fire If the Enemy Dont, but I beelieve that wants further Confirmation.

From your most Obedient Son

Josiah Adams

P.S. I send You Inclos'd In this letter 29 dollars by Mr John Giddens Bailey Son in law to Col: Little Should be Glad to hear the First Oppertunity You have to Write whether you rec^d it or Not.

Josiah Adams

Toppan Oct^r 10th 1776

Hon^d Father

I Rec^d Yours of the 10th Instant, I now Write to Inform that I have had the Fever, and have been sick at This Place About 3 Weeks. 15 miles Distance from the place where Our Reg^t Is Stationed, I have Got so well that I determined to go to the Regiment the first Convenient Op-
pportunity. I am very glad to hear that You are all well—Hope it may be Gods will It wont be long before we See One Another Again, I have but A moments Time to Write: I Cant Inform You About Any of our Publick Affairs, Capt Kent will be able to Inform You)

I have heard Nothing from Capt Jewett(or Mr Farnham since they were Taken I was Inform'd in my last that every 15 Man among you was to be draughted to go to New York I Should be Excessive Glad to see any of My Brothers, But Should Not wish to se them Here as soldiers. Knowing the Fatigue Which they would have to go thro, I hope I shall have an Oppertunity to write you more Particular by the Next Post. So having No more Time I Conclude with my Humble Duty to Yourself beg You would Give it

to my Mother and love to all my Brothers and Sister
which is all at Present from

Your ever dutifull and Obedient Son

Josiah Adams

N.B. Pray Excuse my Writing and Composure for I had
not more than two minutes to Write

Superscribed:

To Mr Samuel Adams

Att Newbury Falls New England

North Castle Novem^r 30th 1776

Hon^d Father

I received Your letter per the Post which Gave me the
Agreeable News that you were all well; I now Imbrace
this Oppertunity to Inform You that I am well Hoping
these will find you so and all the Family, since my last
Letter we have removed, from Philips Manor we are now
at a place Called North Castle we are Upon our March to
Pikes hills which is About 18 miles distance from this, we
something expect to go from Piks hill to the Jerseys (but
I hope something will turn up so as to prevent our Going.
About Six Thousand of the Regulars a few days past landed
upon the Jersey Shore and March'd to a Place Called Hack-
nasack, it is said the Inhabitants of that Place which were
Malitia, Join them by Companies, Col: Little has Got so
well that he has Come to Camp & Is in a Good way to
Get well. The Time that I ingaged for (to be in the
Service) is almost Expired, but whether we shall be dis-
mis'd at that Time or not I Cant tell, if we should be on
the Jersey Side it is Uncertain whether We shall be able
to Cross the North River at that Time in y^e Year. but
I am In hopes to see home sometimes betwix't this and
Spring, I have sent You Inclos'd in this letter 30 dollars
by M^r Josiah Little If you should have Oppertunity to
let me know whether You rec^d it or not I should be Glad—
so being in a Great Hurry I Conclude with my Humble
duty to Yourself beg You will Give it to my Hon^d Mother
and love to all my Brothers and Sister

from Your Ever dutifull

and Obedient Son

Josiah Adams

Superscribed:

To M^r Samuel Adams

att Newbury Falls New England

Fav^d by M^r Little

In Camp Peeks Kill Decem [torn]

Hon^d Father

Perhaps you had Information of the Unhappy fate of Gen^l Lee; That Most Noble Gen^l when Upon his March towards Philadelphia; lodg'd at a House About 3 miles distance Upon the Right of his Division, the people Treated him with a Great deal of Complisance, but it is supposed Gave the Earliest Information to the Enemy, they Possibly Could of his being there About Nine o'Clock Next Morning Fifty light Horse Came Rushing thro, a Thickett of Woods, about 40 rods dis[tant] In front of the House, where Gen^l Lee lodg'd, Immiately surrouned it fired Upon the House, Very briskly, at length were preparing to set ye house on fire, Gen^l Lee perceiving that there was no way for him to make his Escape, sent out one of his Aid de Camps, to Inform them that he would Surrend^r at the Hearing of which they Ceas'd firing (Gen^l Lee walk'd out without his Cloak or Hat, he was Immediately Seiz'd and Carried away Prisoner, his Aid de Camp Escaped with a slight wound in his thigh, Several of his Guard very Much wounded (some Mortally so) General Sullivan Next Morning Headed his division on their March,—

General Washington with the Greatest part of our Army are not far from the City of Philadelphia, some part of Our Reg. are with him. Capt Gerrish is there tho sick, and the Other part of the Regiment are Stationed att Peeks Kill, Col. Little is at Peeks Kill, he and I, live together Yet, We have Got u a Small Board House, with the Roof Covered with Canvis) I am In hopes to be Upon My Return Home soon; Col: Little dont Tarry in the service Another Campaign, nor but a very few of his Officers we have considerable Business to settle before we can leave the Army [torn] Stay 3 Weeks After our Tims is out—

I have Inclosed You a Coppy of those we have had taken Prisoners by the Enemy since we Came to York.

Please to give my humble duty to my Hon^d Mother and Except of the same from your Ever

loving Child

Josiah Adams

Tuesday Evening 11 o'Clock

Superscribed:

To M^r Samuel Adams

Att Newbury Falls New England

Hon^d Madam In Camp Winter Hill Dec^r 7th 1777

I have sent by Colo^l Gerrish one Shirt one pair of Stockens, & one Stock to You, to be wash'd; *Should Esteem* it as a favour, if You would wash them, and send them to me when the Colo^l Returns to Camp.

If you have knit me A pair of Muffalus to wear Upon my wrists if You would send them also, I Should be Glad—I now Injo a good State of health, thro divine Goodness as I hope You do, and all the family I have a very Convenient place to perform the duty that lays Incumbant Upon Me—My lodgings Comfortable (provisions Good,) I hope to see You About the 18 of this Month,—

The German Troops Quartering Upon this Hill behave Exceeding Civil, The British Troops are Very Hauty and Unwilling to Conform to Our Orders (Concerning them).

One of Our Soldiers, A Centry Upon Prospect Hill last Week being Unsulted by Several of the British Prisoners in their language and finally, one of s^d Prisoners took Up one of Our Picketts to Carry it into His Barruck to burn Our Centry haild him some Say twenty times Others twelve, Telling him to put it down, the British prisoner paid no regard to the Centry, by which means our Centry fired and Shot him thro, the Heart—

My duty to my Father & kind love to all My Brethren Sister, and Cousin Salley

I am with all respect Your

Obedient Son

Josiah Adams

N.B. A Couple of pound of Butter by Col. Gerrish would be very Agreeable.

Superscription:

To M^r Sam^l Adams

Att Newbury Falls

Hon^d Sir:

Winter Hill July 17th 1778

I Havn't but a moments time to write y^e bearer waiting in a Great Hurry—I have been very unwell but thro. Divine Goodness I have So far recovered my health that I am Return'd to Camp to Do Duty. I hope to Get a Chance to Come home soon—

My Humble Duty to Your^t and my Mother love to my Brethren & Sister from Y^r Dutifull Son

Superscription:

J. Adams

To M^r Sam^l Adams

at Newbury Falls

MARBLEHEAD COMMONERS' RECORDS,
1652-1710.

(Continued from Volume LXXVII, page 80.)

[18] Febewrorie 11th 1682 Att a metting of the Se-
lect men with those Chosen to Joyn with them thay have
Sould and Laied out a parsell of Land in marblhead to
Elias staden bonded with the strett upon the Southest
mr John Leggs fenc upon the Southwest the town Comon
upon the north and northwest the Land is on rod and
half fronting to the streett Leving eaight foot for a way
up the hill next thomas Powslands fenc and Soe to run
nien Rodd up the hill to a great flatt Rock and from
thenc to be thre Roodd wied from mr Leggs fenc at the
hed of saied Land: for which Land soe boundid the Saied
staden hath payed the Sum of fiveten shillings which is
full satisfaction and he is frelie to Inioy the Saied Land
and his heaiers and asiens for ever:

Att the Same metting Theare was sould and Laied outt
to John Pamer a parsell of Land in marblhead bonded
with the highway upon the Southest the Land of Jaems
stilson upon the northeast the town Comon upon the South-
west and northwest the Land is thre Rodd each way for
which Land Soe bounded the Saied pamer hath paied the
Sum of twentie nien shillings which is full satisfaction
and he his heaiers and asiens are frelie to Inioy the
Saied Land for ever

Att the Same Tieme The parsons above mentioned
have sould to Richard Skinner a parsell of Land being 3
R thre Rodds each way boundid with William Woods his
Land upon the Southest the highway upon the north and
northwest Leaving four pools of Land between The Land
of thomas Candidg and the abovsaied Richord Skiners
Land which Lieth southwest from the Saied thre poolls
and thomas Candidg his bounds for which Land Soe
bounded the Saied richard skiner hath paied the Sum
of twentie shilling which is full satisfaction: and he the

Saied Richard skiner is frelie to Inioy the Saied Land his heaiers execketors and asiens for Ever¹ this grant and Saell was Rorded by a misinformation and therfor is Null and voyd

[19] Thes presents wittneseth that whearas I John Waldrone of marblhed have formerlie sould a parsell of Land to mr web and Company the right wherof is now made over to mr Samuell Willard of Boston Clerke and a highway thearto being a nesesare Convenience to that Land: I doe by these presents in Consideration of the Sum of four pounds paied to me in hand by the afor-saied Samuell willard Covinant promis and agre that the Saied Samuell willard himself heaiers and asiens or tenants shall from tieme to tieme and at all tiemes for Ever heorafter have a fre Libertie to pas or repas thether [by] from the Comons through my owne Land Lying on this sied of his: and of ingres and Egress with a Cart or Cattell: peacably and quietly without any interruption disturbance or molestation maed to him or his by me my heairs Executors or adminestrators in wittnes whearof the Saied John waldrone for himselfe heaiers Executors and adminestrators hath Sett his hand and Seall this twentie first of Febewrarie 1682

wittneses

Vera copia

John E waldron

Samll Cheever

his marcke

John Legg

Samuell Chever and John Legg parsonally apering made oth to the truth of the above said agrement and that thay saw John waldrone siene seall and deliver the sd Instrument as his act and deed to Samuell Willard afor-saied

Sworne befor mr Mosis Mavericke

Comitioner febewrorie 24th 1682/83

[20] Febewroie 11 1682/83 The Select men being mett with thos Chosen to Joyn with them thay have Leased to Insien John Legg — all that hill Lieng bettween Nathanel Waltown his orchard fenc upon the Southwest the Land of Thomas Smith upon the northeast the Cove Comonlie Called mr mavericks Cove upon the Southeast

¹ Crossed out in original.

the Cartway and a high Leege of Rocks upon the northwest the Saied Insien Legg for himself his heaiers and sucksers is frolie to Inioy occupy and poses the Saied Land with all the priviledges theorunto belonging his heaiers and Sucksesers for on hundred years and a day he or thay paying yearlie to the town of marblhead or to whom thay shall apoient the Sum of five shillings in mony a year and he the saied Insien Legg his heaiers and suckseser to Impove Saied Land upon fisherie and in Caes he or his sucksesers shall se [Care] to desert the Saied Land then Saied Insien Legg shall be Clear of this obligation and the Land to return to the disposall of the town agaien the first payment to be maed upon the 25th of morch in the year 1684 and soe to be payed yearlie upon the same day untill the Leas is out as wittnes his hand

John Legg

wittnes Samll Ward Recorder —

The² said John Legg sold his right of the abovesaid Lease of Land to John Conant & the said John Conant sold the same Lease to Joseph Gallason & Samll Twissen as by deed under his hand & seal bearing date the 30th day of July 1717.

Atest Archd: Ferguson Commons Clerk

The Saeme day

The parsons above named have Laied out to Jaems Stilson a parsell of Land in morblhead being thre Rodd Each way bounded with a grett Rock at the wester Corner the Comons upon the northwest the highway upon the north and northest the Land of John palmer upon the Southwest and a highway upon the Southeast for which Land soe bounded the Saied Jaems stilson hath paied the Sum of thirtie five shillings and the Land is sould to him and his heaiers for ever

Wee The Subscribers Trustees for the Comonors of Marblehead have sold unto Richard Skinner all that Incroached Land on which part of his Shop and Barne now standes, being About Seven ffoott under his Shop & two ffoott under his Barne To have and to hold the Incroached Land

² Apparently inserted after original record was made.

to him & his Heirs for Ever Witness our hands [the] 20th day March in the fourteenth yeare of his Majtie Reign 1701/2 being in Consideration of Eight shillings mony in hand paid for us of sd Comoners

John Legg Richard Reith
Archibald Ferguson

[21] march 13 1682/83 The Select men with thos Chosen to Joyn with them have sould and Laied out to John darbie a small Parsell of Land in marblhead boundid with Robert Knights stone wall upon the west the Land of richard Clatterie upon the East John peaches wall upon the South and a sufitiant hieway upon the north for which Land soe bounded the Saied John darbie hath paied the Sum of twentie shillings and the Land is sould to him and his heaiers for Ever

Sould to Thomas Nickolson by the parsons above named a parsell of Land in marblhead the Land is thre Rodd in bredth and four Rodd in Length bounded with the highway upon the northwest and norhest the Land of william woods upon the southeast and the Land of Richard Skinner upon the southwest for which Land soe bounded the saied Thomas Nickolson hath paied the Sum of twentie five shillings and the Land is frelie to be inioyed by him and his heaiers for Ever

Att the Saem tieme Sould by the parsons above named a parsill of Land thre Rodd squaer to Richard skiner in marblhed boundid with the Land of william Woods upon the Southest the Land of Thomas Nickolson upon the Northeast the Land of Thomas Candidg upon the Southwest and the highway upon the northwest for which Land Soe boundid the Saied Richard skiner hath paied the Sum of twentie shillings and the Land is Sould to him and his heaiers for Ever

[22] morch 14 1682/83 at a metting]	
of the Select men thay have Reckned with	li s d
Samuell Ward and after all accounts Cleor }	06 00 00
theor is due from him to the Comoners the	
Sum of	
mor Resaived of John darbie	00 19 00

mor in Richard reds hand as by bill under his hand	08 00 00
neck	
mor in John Pedricks hand as by bill	03 00 00
mor in Andrew tuckers hand by bill	03 00 00
mor in Richard hawlies hand by bill	01 00 00
mor in Richard Clatteries hand by bill	01 00 00
morch 18th 1683/4 Samuell Ward is Dr to the Commoners as apers above due Last year	006 00 00
Resaived of John darbie	000 19 00
Resaived of richard reed	007 18 09
Resaived of Andrew tucker out of the sum above	001 00 00
Resaived of Richard Clatterie	000 19 06
Resaived of Jaems denis	000 17 06
	<hr/>
	018 14 09
	<hr/>
mor Resaived of John furbush in mony in } behalf of Richards hawlies bill as above }	001 00 00
Aprill 12, 1684 more Resaived of Andrew tucker in mony	001 00 00
August 16th — more Resaived of Jaems } Denis upon acount of Andrew tucker for } Land and rent }	001 10 00
Resaived of ditto denis for John pedrick at neck for rent	000 10 00
mor Resaived of Jams denis for Lieutnt } Legg for Rent for the year 83 }	000 05 00
septenb 8 Resaived of Jaems denis for Richord Reede	001 00 00
novembr mor Resaived of Jaems denis for } Robert Bartlott and Joseph nickollson for } Rent }	000 10 00
by Soe much Resaived by the Severall pro- prietors	015 19 03
	<hr/>
	21 14 03

Cr mor by the rent of the neck for the year

84

05 00 00

26 14 03

[23] Att a metting of the Commoners Leaggally
worned march 24th 1682/3 It is agreed by generall Con-
sent: that for securing the pastur and ffeeding grounds
of the Towne the generall fence shall be sett up and made
upon the outside of the farme and in order theortoe the
charge be raised proportionably upon each parson acording
to his proprietie and benefitt the Comoners part to
be paied out of Land acording to thear proportion and
interist in the stock of mony in hand for town Land
The formers and ten ackor Loot men to pay theor further
proportionanble parts out of theor own stock acording to
what preveliedge thay further have in the Saied Land

18th morch 1683/4 The Comoners aer
Dr pr Contrae by disbursments about the
outsied fenc and other Charges as apers by
his book to this day the Sum of

018 15 05

Cr as on the other sied

018 14 09

1684 6th August The Comoners and pro-
prietors of marblhead aere Dr

000 00 08

by Soe much paied the Indeons for the
purchas of the Township as apeors by }
a deede under theor hands }

14 13 00

by Soe much Expended at boston about
the Indeons and for a ded of Saell and }
other Chorges }

02 13 00

by Soe much for a Jornie to Salem to bos-
ton waietting 4 dayies and 2 daies at home }
paied mr John Deverix for tieme and }
Expenc at boston about the Indeons }

02 00 00

01 18 06

for Corieng the dede to Salem and Expenc
paied mr Gerish for Recording the Indeon
deede

00 00 00

00 10 09

paied John waldron for Iron work for the
gatte

00 02 00

by Soe much Expended at my hous aboutt}	
the Comoners buisenes at Severall tiemes}	01 15 04
	<hr/>
	23 13 03
mor by mony paid at the Comoners metting	03 01 00
	<hr/>
	26 14 03

[24] Aprill 21st 1682 The Select men with thos Chosen to Joyn with them have Laied out to Richard Clatterie a Small parsell of Land Lieng between the Land of John Peach Senior on the South the highway upon the North a Ledge of Rocks upon the Southeast End and upon the northwest a Rock neor peachis wall at the uper end twoe Small Rocks at the Lower End at the Cartway which way is to be Left for a sufittant Cartway: and for this Land Soe bounded the Saied Richard Clattere hath paid the select men the Sum of twentie shillings in mony and he his heaiers and asiens are frelie to Inioy the Saied Land for Ever Recorded may 12th 1683

morch 18th 1683/4 The Select men with those Chosen to Joyn with them have sould and Laied out to John furbush a parsell of S[torn] Land in marblhed Lieng between the Land of John pech Junior upon the Southeast and the Cartway upon the northwest a parsell of rocks upon the Est and the Comon upon the west a foottway to be Left upon the Southeast Side and a Cartway upon the north-west Side the Land by mesur is thre Roodd upon Each sied and the ester end and a Roodd and half upon the wester end: and for which Land soe bounded the Saied John Furbush hath paid the Sum of twentie shilling in full satisfaction and the Land is sould to him and his heaiers for Ever

[25] [Att] a meeting of the Commoners legally warned: Aprill: 7th: 1684: Its voted and agreed by generall consent, that Capt: Samuel Ward shall have the sole priviledge & benefit of the herbage upon the Neck, namely of all the Towne land lying in common & appertaining to the Commoners for ye year ensuing, fore in consideration of the summe of five pounds in silver to be paid to the sd Commoners by ye sd Ward; and this to be under

stood not to debaw any particular Proprietour in any of ye sd Neck land from improving & feeding his proportionable part according to Towne orders, and any particular person of ye Towne to have the first refuse of any Commonage to be lett on the same before any strangers of other Townes, they paying as a stranger will doe for the same:

Att the Saeme metting above mentiond it was mutuallly agreeede that the Select men shall have full power to Looke after the maeking up the outsiede fenc and thay aere fully Impowred to Look after all parsons that thay keep noe more Cattell upon the Comons then they have priviledg in Saied Comons to keep upon and if any have and kepe mor Cattel or horsis upon the Comons thay aere to pay the Sum of ten shillings for everie neatt beast and twentie shillings for everie hors or maer which penaltie above Saied the Select men aer hearby fully Impowred by themselves or whom thay shall apoient to demand and Resaive and in Caes of Refusall or non paiement the Select men aer fully Impowred to Recover the abovesaied Sum or Sums upon all parsons that aer found Brekers of this order and to prosecutt them from Court to Court untill the Caes or Caeses be ended

1684 Aprill 10th Wheoras The Select men have [sould] a parsell of Land in marblhed to Richard Rith as opeors folroe the Land acording to the bounds then deliverid waes now mesured and it is bounded with the highway upon the Southest and ten Rood butting agaiens saied way the town Comons upon the northwest and the Land ten Roodd agaiens saied Land: the town Comons upon the South west and northeast and the Land sold is six Roodd at the Southwest End and five poolls and half at the est and northeast end for which Land Soe bounded the Saied Richard Rith hath paied the Sum of four pounds one shillings which is full satisfaction for the saied Land and it is sould to Richard Rith and his heaiers for Ever — the Land was mesured by mr mosis maverick and Thomas Pittman whoe waer twoe of the Select men when it was Sould:

The Select men as opers folroe sold a parsoll of Land and Rocks unto John Pittman which being now mesured apers as followeth seven Rood upon the South est butting to the highway Seven Roodd upon the north west butting upon the town Comons twoe Roods and half wied at the wester end and twoe Roodds at the Ester End for which Land Soe bounded the Saied John Pittman hath paid the Sum of twentie shillings which is full satisfaction for saied Land and it is sould to him and his heaiers for Ever

[27] Julie 14th 1684 Att a metting of the Comoners and proprieters Legally worned upon ocation of Jaems the Indeon and Sume other Indeons pretending a title and Claime to the township of marblhed:

it is votted and agreed to by generall Consent that Mr Mosis maverick mr John Deverix Capt Samll Ward mr Thedeous Riddan William Beall Thomas Pittman Richard Read and Nathanill Waltown be Joyned as a Comitee with the present Select men of the Town to mack Inquerie into the Saied afaire and Sarch after the pretended Claime and truth of theor title and upon finding any Realltyie in Such pretence doe authorieze and Impower Captin Samll Ward and mr John deverix to Compound and agre upon Resonabl terms with the Saied Indeons taking a ferme deed which may be vallued in Law from them and maeke Returne of the Saeme Engaging to Reimburs to the aforsaied parsons what Ever thay shall engage in the matter and defray all theor nesesarie expence about the Same and stand to the agrement the aforsaied parsons shall make in and about the Saied afaire

Att the Saeme metting the Comoners and proprieters being Informed that it was Cleorlie proved at Salem Court Last that the Land Richard Downings hous now standith upon with the Land adioyning to itt is the town Land it was Clearlie votted that Rrichard downing should kep posetion of Saied Land untill the towne tack further order about the Saied Land

[28] Att a genarall metting of the Comoners and proprieters of marblhed upon Report of Samll Ward and mr John deverix that acording to the towns order thay

have agreed with the Indeons that Laied Claiem to our township as will more partickulorlie aper by a ded of Saelle under ther hands and Sealls

the town for the defraienng the Charg of the above mentioned premisis have Impowred mr Samuell Chevers Samuell ward Thomas pittman and Nathanill Walltown to Joyn as a Comitte with the Select men to proportion Each mans part acording to his privellidg in Saied township and thay proportioning [it] by Cows Leasis fiend it to amount to nien pence pr Cow in mony

desembr 25 1684 At a Comoners metting Legaly Warned it was Clearlie votted that theor should be a Comitte Chosen Consisting of thre parsons whoe shall be fully Impowred to Call all parsons to account that aere trespassers upon the Town Comons by tacking in any town Lands Swamp or meadow grounds and thay aere Impowred to presentt all Saied parsons at Law or by agrement to Sell or any otherwaies as thay shall Judg shall be for the Comoners Interist thay giving a faiethfull account to the Comoners of theor proseding aboutt the Saied busines The parsons Chosen at the Saeme tieme to act as above wear Lieuttent John Legg Sargant Nathanill Waltown and Sargant Jaems Denis whoe aere fully Impowred to act about the above Saied premesis as thay shall Judg mett acording to Law and to Continue toe act acording to the abovesaid order untill thear aere others Chosen in theor Roams

[29] Janeworie 13th 1684 We whos Naems are heor underwritten being Impowred by the Comoners as apears by the other Leaffe in this book have sould and deliverid to Richard Downing all that parsill of the Towns Land Lieng and being in marblhed boundid with the Land of John Benitt Desesed upon the south and soustest the Land of mr John Deverix upon the southwest the Land of william Huett upon the East and northwest and the Town Comons upon the Northwest the Saied Richard Downing is to have and to hold use ocupie and Inioy all the Towns Right within the Saied bounds as it is now fenced for him and his Heaiers for ever he having paid for the Comoners use to uss the Sum of twelve pounds in

mony or The mony not being paied the Saied downing
hath given his bill to the porties above named for twellve
pounds in mony

as atest Samll Ward Recorder
The sd twelve pounds being
never paid, and the land re-
seised by execution, itt was
sold unto Joseph Boobier, as
in page 33: by uss

	John legg
	nathanel walton
	James dennes

John Legge
James dennes

The Day and year above written the parsons above men-
tioned vide lise Lieuutenant Legg Sargant waltown and
Sargant Denis have sould unto Robert Bartlott all that
parsill of Land of the Towns that his Barne now stands
upon which is neor his Dwelling hous to have and to hold
for him his heaiers and asiens for Ever for which the
Saied Bartlott hath paied to the parties above named the
Sum of ten shillings in mony

John legg
nathanel walton
James dennes

[30] Jeneworie 14th 1684 Wheoras Thear was a
grant by the Towne in 1673 August 15th of a parsell of
Land as it was then boundid and apeors upon Record in
folie 11 to John Gachell senior the Saied Land being now
Inioyed by william Furnas and he having fenced part of
the Town Land with Said grant of Land the parsons
heore undermentioned vidillis Lieutnt Legg Sorgant wal-
town and Sargant denis being Impowred by the Town
have now sold to Said furnes all the Towns Land within
his fenc as it now stands for the Sum of fortie shillings
in mony and he is to Inioy the Saied Land for him and
his heaiers for Ever

1684 14 Januorie Theor is granted to william Blackler
a porsill of Land wheor his Cowhous now stands ner his
now dwelling hous boundid 20 foot in Lengthe and 16
foott in bredth for which he hath paied to Lieutent Legg
Sorgant waltown and Sargant denis fievten shillings in
mony whoe weor then apointed and Impowred by the
town to sell town Lands and the Land is sould to him
and his heaiers for ever

1684 Jeneworie 24 Elias Fortin having Inioyed a parsell of Land for Severall yeors past in marblhed boundid with Thomas Elis upon the Southwest the Land of Samuell ward upon the Southest the Town Comons upon the north and northwest it being granted formerlie to him we doe now Confirm it to him and his heaiers for ever as it is now boundid by his fence and alsoe a barne or Cowhows that he hath Liekwis built upon the Comons for which he hath paied to uss for the the towne the Sum of fiveten shillings as wittnes our hands the day and yeor above written it is to be understood the Land Saied hous stands upon

John legg
nathanel walton
James dennes

[31] Jeneworie 29th 1684 We whoes Naemes aer underwritten being Impowred by the Comoners have sould and agreed with John Codner for all the Land of the Towns that he hath now within fence, adioyning to his fish fenc as it is now fenced: with the Land the hous now stands upon that william Blackler now Lieves is as alsoe the Land John Codners Cowhous now stands upon: to have and to hould the Saied Land with all the privelidges and apurtinances theorunto belonging as it is now boundid: with Robert Bartlotts fish fence upon the Southwest the Seae upon the East and Southeast the highway upon the north and northwest: for which Land Soe bounded the Saied John Codner hath paied to uss in behalf of the Comoners the Sum of ten pounds in mony and the Land is sould to him and his heaiers for Ever wittnes our hands the day and yeor above written

John legg
nathanel walton
James dennes

84 Jenewerie 29 The parsons above naemed have Sould unto Jacob Knight and Samuell meritt a parsill of Land twoe poolls in bredth and the Length of the Land of henerie Rusells desesed now in the hands of Jacob Knight Lieng upon the northwest of saied Land and bounded with the Land of John pedricks upon the southwest and

the Land of Jaems meritt upon the northeast: for which Land Soe bounded the parsons above naemed have paied to uss for the Comoners use the Sum of fortie shillings and the Land is sould to them and theor heaiers for Ever

John legg
nathanel walton
James dennes

[32] Wee whose Names are hereUnto Subscribed being Trustees for the Commoners of the Towne of Marblehead, for the selleing off House Lottes and other Incroached Landes within the sd. Towne &c Have Sold and Alianated Unto John Whitte of the Same Towne, a Certaine Smale parcell of Lande for a house Lott, where his house now built standes butted & bounded as ffolloweth, being Neare and Joyneing to the Land off John Northey, and is Upon that Southerly Side Seven pole and halfe and one pole & halfe att the Westerly side, or End and Seven pole & halfe on the North & North Easterly side, and Two pole, att the South Easterly End, which Land soe butted & bounded for the Consideration off fflower poundes in hand paide bee for Signeing hereoff; and ffurther the sd Committee have Aded to the afore bounded premisses & for the Consideration afore sd. fflower pole in length from the aforesd. Westerly End of a pole & halfe wide fflower pole more Runneing straight from that outer Corner to the aforesd. Walle of Northie's Land pointeing with itt to Noothing, To have and to hold all the afore Bargained Premisses To him selfe his Heires or Assignes as an absolute Estate of Inheritance for Ever, Wittness our handes att Marblehead aforesd. this 14 January anno. 1700/1 @ and in the Twelfeth Yeare of his Majties Reign

Wittness John Browne
Cler. To the Commoners.
& sd. Towne.

John Legg
Richard Reith
James dennes
Archibald Ferguson

Wee The Trustees for the Commoners of this Towne Impowered To Sell vacant and Encroached Landes & S. Have this day Sold to Robert Elliott his Heires and

Assignes for Ever, all that Common Land whereon his New barne Now Standeth bounded Upon the North Westly with the Land of William Peach, on the Easterly End with the ffish fence formerly Leased to Thomas Smith & Margerett Norman and the other side and End with the Highway & S. for which Land the sd. Robert Elliott hath befor Signeing hereoff in hand paide Unto Us The Summe of Twenty fflower shillings in Mony, for The use off The Commoners afore sd. Wittness our handes att Marblehead This 31st day of January anno. domm 1700/1 and Twelfeth Yeare of the Kings Reign

Wittness John Browne.
Cler. To The Commoners.
& sd. Towne.

John Legg
Richard Reith
James dennes
Archibald Ferguson

[33] Morch 30th 1685 by Soe much	}	003 00 00
Resaieved p Lieutentt Legg for what John		
pedrick was indepted to the town as opears		
in folioe 20 which is in full for the use of		
his fish fenc untill the year 1682/3	}	003 00 00
mor Resaived of the Comoners mony befor		
the Select men the Sum of		

Aprill: 6th 1685 Att a Comoners metting Samuel Ward was Chosen to kepe the Comoners book and to Record whatt is to be recorded in Saied book for the year Insuing

2dlie it was votted that the outtsied fenc Round the forme as it was formerlie fenced shall be sufittiantlie maede up and the gaetts hangd sufittiantlie and the Select men aere fully Impowred to hier men to maeke up the above Saied fenc Sufittiantly and what thay shall expend aboutt the Saied buiesenes shall be Repaied out of the Comoners mony

3dlie Thomas pittman Senior Sargant nathanill wal-town Sargant denis and William Bartoll wear Chosen to Look after the stint for this year and to taeke the penalltie agreed upon the Last year for Everie parson that keps any Cattell above theor stint

4thlie Thomas Hawkins Thomas pittman Junior and Jeremiah Gachell aer Chosen to Looke after all stray

horsis that break into our Comons out of other towns and thay aere to Impound Saied horsis and to taek the penalltie that the Law provieds in that Caese

[34] Wee The Subscribers, Appointed Trustees for The Commoners of This Towne of Marblehead for The Selleing of house Lottes and Incroached Lands &c Have Sold and Allianated Unto Thomas Roades of This Towne, a Certaine Smale parcell of Land on The great Neack in This Towne where his New house now standes, being Eleven poles To The South East End of his house & one pole To the North West End, and one pole To The South West side & one pole To the North East side of his Sd. Houses, for which Land or house lott Soe bounded hee hath in hand paide befor Signeing hereoff, for The Use of Sd. Commoners The Summe off Two pounds & Eight Shillings in Mony. And is To Injoye the premisses as an absolute Estate of Inheritance to him & his Heires for Ever Witness our handes att Marblehead This 23d, of January Anno domini 1700/1 And in The Twelfth. yeare

of his Maj.tie Reign
Wittness John. Browne

John Legg
James dennes
Richard Reith
Archibald Ferguson

Wee The Trustees for the Commoners have Sold Unto Hannah Smith of this Towne Widdow, the Land whereon her New barne now stands Upon The Hill or Rock over against her house to the Northwestward Towards John Carders house, and to Injoy the Same to her Selfe and her Heires for Ever haveing paide to us befor Signeing hereof The Summe of Six shillings in mony for the Use of the Commoners Wittness our handes att Marblehead this 18th day of March 1700/1 and in the Thirteenth yeare of his Maj.ties Reign

Wittness John Browne

John Legg
James dennes
Richard Reith
Archibald Ferguson

[35] Aprill 18th 1685 We whoes Naems aere heor-underwritten being Impowred by the Comoners have

Sould and deliverid unto william Hiens and his heaiers for ever all the Towns Right to any Land Rocks tres or what Ells was the Towns Right within the ston wall of John peach desesed boundid with the Comons upon the Southwest and west the Land of Joseph doliver upon the northwest the Land of John darbie and Richard Clatterie upon the north and northest for which Land Soe bounded the Saied william Hiens hath paied to uss in behalf of the Towne the Sum of seven pounds or secured by bill as wittness our hands this 2d of may 1685

John legg
nathanel walton
James dennes

1684 2[9] Jeneworie we whos naems aere underwitten being Impowred by the Comoners have Sould and deliverid to John Pedrick senior of marblhed sied a Small parsill of Land in morblhed lieng upon the northwest of his Land he now Lieves upon being twoe poolls wied toward the Swamp from his Land — and the wholl Length of Saied pederick his Land for which Land Soe boundid the Saied John pedrick hath paied to uss in behalf of the towne the Sume of twentie shillings and the Land is sould to him and his heaiers for Ever

John Legg
James dennes

[36] We whose Names are heir underwritten being Impowred by the Commoners off Marblehead, have Leased unto Richard Grose and Mariam his wife all that fish fence now fenced in wheir their stage now Stands, yeare by yeare Soe Long as they shall make use of the Same, or keep it in possession they engaging for themselwes their heires executors or assigns the Just Sume off ten shillings in money pr. yeare; Soe Long as they Shall Soe keep it as above written and for the true performance of this engagement & agreement wt us viz: Capt. John Legg Leift James Dennis, Ensigne Nathll walton & Archibald Ferguson as trustees for the Commoners off Marblehead we have Sett to our hands to this present writing the

twintie eight day off Aprill Anno Dom: on thousand Six hundred and Nintie on

Witnes Archibald Ferguson Recordr:

John Legg

Richard R Grose

James dennes

his marke

nathanel walton

Wee The Subscribers Trustees for the Commoners have Sold Unto John Dodd a Smale parcell of Land for a house Lott where his New house now Standes five poles in Length To The Northwest side Joyneing To mr Ambrose Gales Meddow, Twelve ffootte in breadth to the North East End and one pole in breadth att The South West End Joyneing To Abigalls Merritt's Land, and five pole in Length To The South East, Att The highway, which is To bee made Sufficient for Carteing, att The Charge of The Sd. John Dodd, for which Landed Soe bounded hee hath in hand pd. Unto Us befor Signeing hereof Twenty ffive Shillings in mony for The Use of The Sd. Commoners, for which hee is To Enjoye The Sd. Land as an Absolute Estate of Inheritance Tohim & his Heires for Ever

Wittness our handes att Marblehead This 9th. day of Aprill 1701:

Wittness John Browne
Cler. To Commoners &
the Towne

John Legg
Richard Reith
Archibald Ferguson
James dennes

[37] 1687 The Commoners are Cr:
Aprill 6 pr Silver behind [of] the Indian
deed of Stephen Griggs: 15 d —
& ditto of Jn Martin 18d
pr money left of ye Dividend & brought
from folio. 34

lb s d
02 10 00

[38] Wee The Subscribers Trustees for The Commoners of This Towne of Marblehead, Appointed for to Sell Encroached & Undisposed Landes belonging to Sd. Commones. have agreed with and Sold unto John Waldron [junr.] of Sd. Towne, a Smale piece of ground, whereUnto is Joyned his Little Garden by his house Run-

ning from his sd. Dwelleing house Three poles in length to the Northwardes Joyneing to mr. William Woodes wale, and To The Westwards with The Commoners Land, & high: way and to Runn to the westward Corner of his Smith Shop as it now standes Leaveing a Sufficent highway, for which Smale piece or parcell of Land hee hath paid Unto Us Twenty five Shillings in mony, and also have Sold Unto him the Sd. John Waldron the Encroached Land or Rock whereon his Smiths Shop now Standes, for Twenty Shillings in mony [The] whole being Two poundes & five shillings in mony To Us in hand pd. befor Signeing These presents and for which hee is To have & Injoy the Sd Land & Rocke to him and his Heires Executrs. Administratrs. & Assignes for Ever, Accordingly wee have hereUnto Sett our handes on behalfe of The Sd. Commoners (and for Theire Use is The mony Receivd.) att Marblehead March 20th 1701/2. In the first yeare of her Majtys Reign
Wittness John Browne Cler. To Commonrs.

John Legg

Richard Reith

Archibald Ferguson

[39] Att a meeting of the Select men: Aprill: 15: 1687 The Select men of Marble-head chosen by the Towne for the ordering of the prudentialls of the Towne, vizt: Left James, mr Ambrose Gale [mr] Richd Reith, Mr Nath: Walton, & mr Archebald Furgeson being impowred & ordered by the Commoners att a Commoners meeting Aprill: 4 1687, to look after the strict observation of former orders about the stint of Cattell on the Commons according to former usages & customes, & to appoint persons for the same, have & doe this day choose & appoint Richd Trevett, Sam:ll Reed junr Jos Norman & William Bartlett, either, & everyone of them for the aforesd service and by these give them & every of them full power to look after the sd stint made & Recorded in the Towne Book, that no person keep any more cattell then their sd priveledge allowes them, who have liberty for their owne encouragemt to keep each of them a horse or two coves on ye sd Lands gratis, and are therefore ordered once in

a week throughout ye summer to ride about, & get & take notice of any cattell trespassing on the same, & are impowred hereby to prosecute att Law all trespassers whatever of other, or of our owne Towne; att their owne charge, & to have the halfe pt of ye penalty of the Law or order ffor their pains in so doing, which penalty according to former usage in. 1684. & before, and now is established by us the present Select men to be ten shillings for a cow, for a horse twenty shillings, & for other young Cattell proportionably to be paid in silver, to these persons abovenamed, & this so often as they shall be found att any time trespassers upon the Towne Commons:

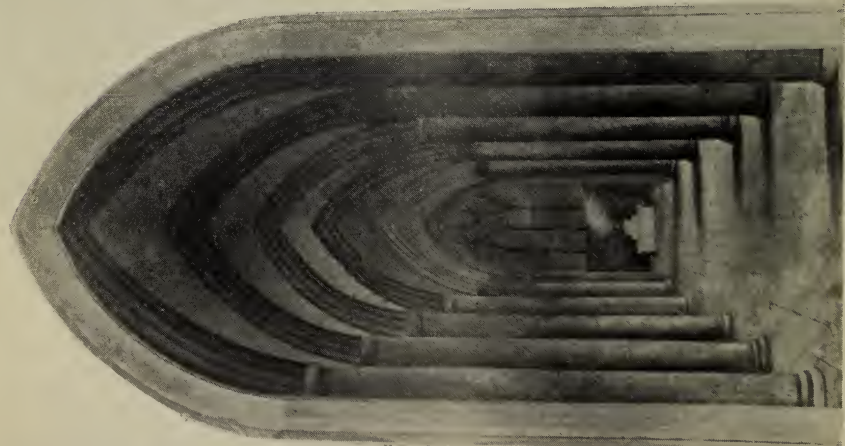
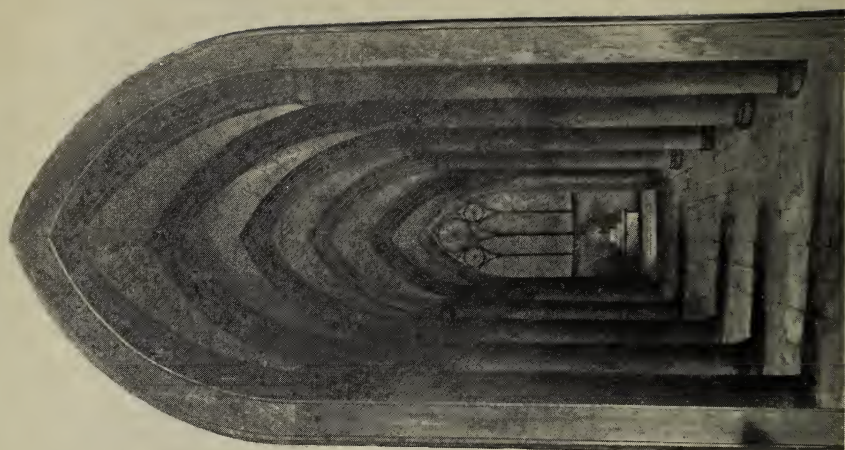
[40] Captain Jn Legg is Dr To Rent for his fishing stage from: March 25:83 to March 2[5]: 1684: as appears folio: 19: att 5 ^s pr annum	lb s d 00:05 00
To Rent for ye same from: March 26 84: to March 26: 85:	00 05 00
To Rent for ye same from March 26:85: to March. 26: 86:	00. 05 00
To Rent for ye same from March. 26: 86 to March 26. 87:	00:05 00
To Rent from March 26: 87: to: March: 26. 88	00 05 00
To Rent from March 26: 88 to: March 26. 1689	00 05 00
To Rent from March 26. 89. to March. 26. 1690	00 05 00
To Rent from March 26. 90. to March 26: 92.	00 05 00
<hr/>	
To Rent from March 26 91 to March. 26. 95 att 5 ^s pr annum	01:00 00
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	003 00 00
To Rent from march. 26. 95. to march 26. 1699 at 5-s pr.	001 00 00
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	£004 00 00

To Rent from 1699. To The 25th 1701 @ “..“10“..

To Rent from march the Twenty fouth 1702 To march the twenty fouth 1706 due att five shillings pur year one pound five shillings	£“..4“10“00 01 05 00 <hr/> 05 15 00
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To Rent from march 26:1706 to march 1707	00 05 00
To Rent from march 26:1707 to march 1708	00 05 00
To Rent from march 26:1708 to march 1709	00 05 00
To Rent from march 26:1709 to march 1710	00 05 00
To Rent from March. 26:1710 to March.26. 1711 —	00 05 00
To Rent from march 26.1711 to march 26. 1712—	00 05 00
To Rent from march 26.1712.to march 26. 1713.—	00 05 00
To Rent from march 26.1713 to march 26. 1714—	00 05 00
To Rent from march 26.1714 to march.26. 1715.—	00 05 00
To Rent from march 26.1715 to march.26. 1716—	00 05 00
To rent from march 26 1716 to march 26 1717—	00 05 00
To rent from march 26 1717 to march 26 1718—	00-05 00
To rent from march 26 1718 to march 26 1719—	00-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1719 to march 26 1720—	00-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1720 to march 26 1721—	00-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1721 to march 26 1722—	00-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1722 to march 26 1723—	00-05 00

(To be continued)



PAINTINGS IN THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, GLOUCESTER.

BY ALFRED MANSFIELD BROOKS.

The First Parish Church (Unitarian) in Gloucester was built in 1828. It is a large, well-proportioned edifice in the "Gothic manner"; i.e. it has pointed doors and windows. In addition to the three windows on each side which it has today, it originally had two windows, one at each side of a high pulpit. These windows placed, approximately, at the ends of the two aisles must have been very annoying to the congregation that had to face directly into their light. To obviate this they were early walled-up, shallow depressions amounting to sunken panels being left in their stead.

Just when this was done is not known precisely, or when, exactly, the pictures which were painted to fill these panels were put in place. Family tradition says they were ordered done in Liverpool by Captain Harvey Coffin Mackay, and by him given to the church. It is certain, however, that this happened before 1840, and that they belong to the third decade of the nineteenth century. They remained in their original places until the early eighties when the church was remodelled. At this time the two pictures were consigned to the rubbish heap from which Mrs. John Stacy, a woman of good sense and taste, rescued them. Some years later her nephew, George O. Stacy, wisely and generously had them placed in their present positions, one at the front and one at the back of the church. So much for the known facts concerning this pair of paintings which have given rise to much conjecture and which, apparently, are unique in the story of New England church architecture. The purpose of this note is to discover if they are really unique and, if not, where similar pictures similarly used exist today, as well as to call attention to their curious character and charm purely as works of art.

The subjects of these pictures, which are about seventeen feet high, are The Old and The New Dispensations — each a Gothic aisle ending in a traceried window before and below which, one, the fire of sacrifice burns upon

an altar, The Old; on the other a cross is raised, The New. As originally placed these "long-drawn aisles and fretted vaults" continued the actual aisles of church and many a child has been fascinated and alarmed by the solemn distances into which he never went but felt sure he could if only allowed to do so. They are painted in oils on loosely woven canvas. They might almost be called colored drawings for the shapes of things and the perspective are clearly defined by lines which tell the story quite without regard to color or light and shade. These lines are sepia brown, the shadows a darker shade of the same, while the general ground-work is a faded yellow. How much actually faded is impossible to say. The traceried windows and the areas about the altars, which are pictured as white marble, are touched in with cool and pale blues and greens that suggest twilight. Better, a "dim religious light."

Despite the crudity of the painting the effect is extremely successful. Both pictures are reminiscent of theatrical scenery. There is nothing crude about their perspective to which the adjective subtle is truthfully applicable. Each of the aisles is narrowed to its own focal point, the altar, while both aisles converged on a common and more distant focus. This gave unity to the painted aisles and tied them into unity with the real aisles of the church itself. The fiery urn in The Old Dispensation is off centre to the right. The Cross of the New Dispensation is off centre to the left. These facts tend to intensify the perspective unity of the two aisles, while the further fact of the shadows of the columns being cast in opposite directions, as if the light were coming from the high windows of a loftier central aisle, gives the impression, intentional beyond doubt, of being part of a building much larger than the one for which they were designed and in which they were placed.

If not strictly speaking, beautiful, The Old and The New Dispensations of the Gloucester church are very interesting and it is to be hoped that the whereabouts, now or formerly, of similar church decorations will be announced in these pages together with their history.

NEWBURY MEN IN SHAYS' REBELLION.

In 1786, the serious depression in trade, the loss of public credit and the burden of public and private debts led to a riotous disorder in the western part of Massachusetts. The disturbance was incited by one Daniel Shays and the Commonwealth acted promptly by calling out the militia to stop the acts of violence, like burning of houses, closing of the courts by armed mobs and the opening of prison doors. In December, Governor Bowdoin ordered several regiments of cavalry and infantry to assemble at Worcester to disperse a force of twelve hundred men, headed by Shays, who were attempting to capture the federal arsenal at Springfield. The Essex Institute has recently acquired a hitherto unknown payroll of a company that was raised in Newbury for service in this expedition. The company was commanded by Captain Edward Longfellow of Byfield, a graduate of Dartmouth College in the class of 1780. The roster of this company follows:

Privates: Eben^r Peabody, Daniel Wood, Daniel Spafford, William Hazen, Richard Buckminster, Thomas Spafford, Israel Herrick, William Willson, Joshua Rea, Amos Gould, Jeremiah Foster, John Hubbard, Thomas Pace, Moses Pingrey, Wm. Russell, Samuel Currier, John Howe, Timothy Swan, Zebediah Silver, Zechariah Davison, Moody Adams, Nathan Ames, Sanborn Blake, Joseph Bowley, Samuel Chase, Asa Currier, Asa Davies, Shubael Dummer, Moses Dummer, John Dummer, Benjⁿ Eager, Daniel Emery, Joseph Gould, John Hidden, Oliver Clark Lunt, Robert March, Nathaniel Morrill, Timothy Morse, Ephraim Noyes, Richard Pettingell, Nathan Pearson, John Pris, Edmund Rogers, Levi Shackford, Moses Safford, John Haynes, Amos Hill, Silas Moulton, Moses Brown. These men are credited with 180 miles of travel, with the exception of William Russell, who marched 140 miles, and John Pris and Nathaniel Morrill, who marched 100 miles. They were from five to nine days returning home. Each received £2 per month for service, and served one month, seventeen days.

PAY ROLL OF OFFICERS OF CAPTAIN EDWARD LONGFELLOW'S COMPANY,
COLONEL NATHANIEL WADE'S REGIMENT.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Time of Engagement</i>	<i>Time of Discharge</i>	<i>Distance from home</i>	<i>Time to Re- turn home @ 20 m per day</i>	<i>Whole time of serv. Inc. 9 days to ret.</i>	<i>Pay pr month</i>	<i>Whole amt. of Pay</i>
Edward Longfellow	Captain	Jan. 16, 1787	Feb. 25, 1787	180 Miles	9 Days	1 17	£8. 0. 0	£12. 10. 0
Nathan Swan	Lieut.	"	"	"	"	1 17	5. 6. 8	8. 7. 1
Samuel Remick	Ensign	"	"	"	"	1 17	4. 10. 0	7. 1. 0
Enos Runnells	Ensign	"	"	"	"	1 17	4. 10. 0	7. 1. 0
David Davies	Clerk	"	"	"	"	1 17	2. 14.	4. 4. 7
Josiah Carr	Serjeant	"	"	"	"	1 17	2. 8.	3. 15. 2
John Davison	"	"	"	"	"	1 17	2. 8.	3. 15. 2
John Herrick	"	"	"	"	"	1 17	2. 8.	3. 15. 2
Wm. Bodwell	"	"	"	140 miles	7 "	1 15	2. 8.	3. 12.
Jesse Barker	Drummer	"	"	100 "	5 "	1 13	2. 4.	3. 3. 1
Nathl Pike	Corporal	"	"	140 "	7 "	1 15	2. 4.	3. 6.
James Swan	"	"	"	180 "	9 "	1 17	2. 4.	3. 8. 11
Abraham Peabody	"	"	"	"	"	1 17	2. 4.	3. 8. 11
Philip Reed	"	"	"	"	"	1 17	2. 4.	3. 8. 11
Paul Hale	"	"	"	"	"	1 17	2. 4.	3. 8. 11

THE TECHNIQUE OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY INDIAN-LAND PURCHASERS.

BY HARRY ANDREW WRIGHT.

In Hampden County Registry of Deeds, at Springfield, Massachusetts, Liber A, Folio 6, is recorded "a copy of a deede of sale whereby Umpanchala, an Indian Sachem, formerlie of Nolwotogg did sell & alianate his right & interest in certaine persells of lands on y^e west side of Quinecticott river unto Maj^r J^{no} Pynchon of Springf^d for & in y^e behalfe of y^e inhabitants of Hadley, as alsoe his, y^e s^d Major J^{no} Pynchons assignment of y^e same to y^e s^d inhabitants."

The tract described was what became known as "Hadley west side" and is now the town of Hatfield. From it was reserved "y^e Chickons,¹ alias Cottinyakies,² which is to say there planting ground."

The deed reads,—³

"Bee it known unto all men by these presents y^t Umpanchala alias Womscom, a Sachem of Nolwotogg⁴ on y^e one partie, being y^e chiefe proper owner of y^e land on y^e west side of Quinectcot river, from Cappowoun-gonuck⁵ to y^e upper side of Mincomonk⁶ for & in consideration of y^e sum of three hundred fatham of wampam in hand p^d besides severⁿ other small gifts and for other good causes & considerations doe sell, give, grant to John Pynchon of Springfield afore^sd on y^e other partie and to his assignes & successors for ever this tenth day of July, 1660."

Then followed "the mark of Umpanchala" and "the mark of Etowomp, br^o to Umpanchee, owning & approveing y^e sale of y^e land & is a witness to it."

Should one here picture a meeting of the prospective settlers, under an elm tree by the river, Umpanchala and his brother Etowomp attending with a princely retinue? Were the wampum beads exchanged, made up into those symbolic belts so beloved by the pageant-masters? Or how was the payment made? What was the ceremony of the transfer?

As the answer is a matter of such complete documentary evidence, the facts are here recorded.

Springfield was established in 1636 by William Pynchon as an industrial enterprise, based on the fur trade. To that end he imported merchandise and acquired quantities of wampum beads for exchange with the natives. On July 4, 1636, Pynchon wrote to Winthrop, at Saybrook, "I received a parsell of course wampan from you, but I could not trade any of it, because others were furnished with plenty of better, but if you will send me a parsell of 100 or 200 fathom of fine white wampam, I shall accept it as bever."⁷ From Saybrook, Lionel Gardiner wrote to Winthrop, on November 6, 1626, complaining of the straits in which he had left the Connecticut settlement, and said, "Mr. Pinchin had a bill to receive all the wampampeige we had; we have not soe much as will pay for the mendinge of our ould boate."⁸

The word "wampum," an abbreviation of wampumpeage meant "strings of white beads," but was by common usage applied to both the white and black beads. A fathom was an arbitrary measure of length established in 1640 by the Massachusetts authorities as a string of 240 wampum beads with a value of four a penny. At four a penny, a fathom of 240 beads would have a value of sixty pence, or five shillings. The following accounts will show that in 1660, a fathom was still valued at five shillings and that a hand of wampum (twenty-four beads) was one-tenth of a fathom and was valued at six pence. Thus the three hundred fathom of wampum mentioned in the deed would have comprised seventy-two thousand beads, each one laboriously fashioned by hand from sea shells. The Pynchon account books are replete with entries showing credits to fellow townsmen for the stringing of the beads.

William Pynchon returned permanently to England about 1652, leaving his son John to continue and extend the business. For more than half a century, the Pynchon store served the valley, from Wethersfield on the south to the most northerly up-river town, and from Brookfield on the east to Albany on the west. The account books of

the Pynchon store cover the years 1645 to 1700⁹ and are far more than mere ledgers, for their pages include intriguing stories. A full page in the earliest volume perpetuates young John Pynchon's efforts to list and analyze the Indian names for the calendar months "as far as I yet can understand them."¹⁰ In another volume appears an inventory, in cipher, of "My Plate, anno 1659."¹¹ Contracts for buildings are given in such detail as to provide us with a complete understanding of the structures. Innumerable entries testify to Pynchon's intimacy with the natives.

In December, 1658, John Pynchon charged "to Seanan, y^e Wethersfeild sachem, four yards of trading cloth and one yard of shag cotton which Kackiomah and Neesumbaccum, two other Wethersfeild Indians ingage shall be satisfied."¹² At the same time, charges were made "to Seancut, a Hartford Indian, 1¾ yards of shag cotten" and "to Seancuts squa, 2½ yards of red trading cloth." "Robin, a Wethersfeild Indian, had 2½ yards of shag cotten" and "Japhet, y^e Indian y^t was Mr. Fitches man had two yards of red cotten."¹³ Pynchon was ever just to the natives, but he exacted payment in full. He noted,—“In page twenty of old book, John y^e Indian owes me ever since 1659, 16^s-6^d and may well allow me 20^s.”¹⁴ On July 14, 1661 "Jack Commolan (Nosatuck of Nipnet, his son) was trusted for two shues for w^{ch} he p^romises me a great skin of bever." Looming large below the entry is the word "Paid." June 30, 1666, Pynchon "lent to Chuckehoagg, one bushel of Indian corne. To pay me after harvest."¹⁵ January 1, 1667, Nathaniel Ely was debited five shillings on account of a payment "to an Indian, Squompe, for bringing y^r horses to Chickuppy river, for w^{ch} I agreed wth him a bushell of Indian corne apiece."¹⁶ On July 11, 1671, "John Russell, junior, pastor of Hadley" was asked to reimburse Pynchon for one pound "pay^{mt} to y^e Indians who brought y^r negro man and y^e canoe f^ro y^e Indian fort."¹⁷

By continuous steps, Pynchon turned his merchandise and his wampum into cash or its equivalent. From the Indians he received furs and land. The furs he shipped

to England; the lands he rented on shares or sold to his associates. From the English he received for his wares, either lands, produce or labor. So the endless chain continued.

On page 214 of the second volume of Pynchon's account books appear complete details of the manner of payment to Umpanchala.

Umpanchela y^e Indian Sachem & owner of y^e land at Norwotog hath taken up of me towards pay for his land w^{ch} he promises to sell.

Imprims.

Sept..23	2 yds. of Bilboe rug	01-15-00
1659.	red shag cotton 6 ^s blew Trad cloth 6 ^s	00-12-00
	wampam 2 fad. 6 h.	00-13-00
	a shurt	00-10-00
all is 14 fadam.		

Feb.13.59.	1 coate	5 fad.	}	01-12-06
	1 pr. breeches	1 fad.		
	red shag	5 h.		
	in wampam	7 fadam		01-15-00
	in wampam	2 fad.		00-10-00
	More, a coate	5 fad.	}	05-02-06
	in wampam	15 fad. 5 h.		
all is 36 fad.				
50 faddam in all				

Apr. 12	{ a coate 5 fad.	}	03-10-00
1660. 14 fadam, viz	{ Cotton 1 " 2 h.		
	{ Wamp. 7 " 8 h.		
More	{ a gun 6 " 5 h.	}	02-10-00
Apr.13th 10 fadam, viz	{ red shag 1 " 2 h.		
	{ Wamp. 2 " 3 h.		
Apr.14th			
More	two blew coates 10 fadam.		02-10-00
More			
Apr.16th	16 fad. in a coate, 1 pr. of breeches	}	04-00-00
	& 10 fad. of wampam		
in all 100 fadam is y ^e sum of			25-00-00

More dlr ^d y ^e 16th day of Aprill 1660		
one shurt at 2 fad. is		00-10-00
Apr.24th in shag cotton	1 fad.	00.05-00
1660 In wampam	7 fad.	01-15-00
Apr.25th. red shag 15 h & Wampam 8 fad. 5 h.		
(60) is 10 fad.		02-10-00
Apr.27th red shag 12 h. Wampam 3 fad. 8 h.		
& a coate 5 fad,	10 fad.	02-10-00
Wampam	01 fad. $\frac{1}{2}$	00-07-06
May 9 In wampam	08 fad. $\frac{1}{2}$	02-02-06
(60) 2 Coates	10 fad.	02-10-00
May 17 a blew Wastcote & 10		
Fad. wamp	12 fad. 4 h.	03-02-00
May 19 In wampam	03	00-15-00
June 1 In wampam	04 6 h.	01-03-00
(60) In wampam	01	00-05-00
June 7 A coate 5 fad. Wam-		
(60) pam 5 fad.	10	02-10-00
June 19 In wampam		02-10-00
1 coate 5 fad. sh. cot. 3 f. & }		
red sh. 6 h. & wampam 4 h. }		02-05-00
In all is 100 fad.		25-00-00
& above is 100 fadam in y ^e *****		

June 20 Blew shag cotton	1 fad. 4 hands	00-09-00
1660. red shag cot. 14 h. &		
8 wamp.	2 " 2 hands	00-11-00
July 4 2 Coates shag	20	05-00-00
(60) In wampam	02	00-10-00
To Joseph Parsons		
sum at	14	03-10-00
July 10th a coate & wampam		
1660. dlr ^d at Joseph Par-		
sons howse	10	02-10-00
To paym ^t to Mr.		
Goodwin	02 8 h.	00-14-00
To wampam	07 2 h.	01-16-00
July 30th To more wampam 5		
1660 fad. & a coate 5		

	fadam is	10	02-10-00
August 23	To black wampam	} 07	03-00-00
(60)	& shag		
	To a red Coate	05	
Sept. 6	To 2 fadam for y ^r	} 10	02-10-00
(60)	being drunk		
	To wampam, 4 fad.	}	00-15-00
	& y ^r *****		
Sept. 14	To wampam 4 fad.	} 03	01-05-00
	but by y ^r Importunity I give one		
	To a Kettle *** **	05	
100 fad. ———			25-00-00

100 fadam above is 200 fad. all w^{ch} is
 300 fad. w^{ch} makes y^e sum of 75-00-00

So much I ingaged to him for his land at
 Nalwotogg & have p^d him all to his owne con-
 tent in y^e p^ticular aboves^d,

Sept. 1660. This Aco^t set off with Hadley
 Towne, it being p^d for y^e Purchase of their

Land I have Reckned it wth them.

Sept. 1660.

The Towne of Hadley, Dr.

To y^e Purchase of their land on y west side
 of y^e River £75-00-00

Thus the transaction was completed. On July 10, 1660, Umpanchela had executed the formal deed to Pynchon which he assigned to the Hadley settlers.¹ How the town of Hadley paid him is not indicated, but in other similar cases, he often accepted in full payment, a sizeable tract in a wilderness that was about to become a settled community, as in this instance.

The foregoing indicates that in his negotiations with the Indians, Pynchon's computations were in fathoms and hands, which were translated into pounds, shillings and pence in after dealings with the English.

A condensation of Umpanchela's account shows that he received for his land,—

142½ fathom of wampum	35-12-06
One gun	01-12-06
One kettle and an undecipherable item	01-05-00
14 coats @ 1-5-0	17-10-00
2 " @ 2-10-0	05-00-00
2 pair of breeches @ 5 ^s	00-10-00
1 blue waist coat	00-12-00
2 shirts @ 10 ^s	01-00-00
2 yards bilboa cloth @ 17 ^s -6 ^d	01-15-00
Blue trading cloth	00-06-00
Cotton cloth	00-06-00
Shag cloth of various colors	03-17-00
Debt due to Joseph Parsons	03-10-00
" " " William Goodwin	00-14-00
Court fine for drunkenness	00-10-00
One undecipherable item	01-00-00

300 fathom of wampum equal—£75-00-00

All this shows that in a year's time, this one Indian received of Pynchon £75 worth of wares (all at a profit to the trader) having a present-day value of perhaps \$2000. This English trader's operations were so extensive that there should be little wonder that he became one of the most wealthy men of the Valley.

Umpanchela's deed provided "y^t all y^e Indian corne feilds or old planted ground above Wequetayyage shall come to y^e English after his death, and yⁿ y^e Indians to have and injoy only y^e old planted ground in Wequetayyage and down to y^e brook Cappowongseate alias Mattoolanick."

Page 215 of Pynchon's second volume evidences that despite this provision, this finery-loving native could not restrain his yearning for European gewgaws. This reads,—Sept. 29th, 1660. Trusted Umpancheale one coate at 5 fadam of wampam for w^{ch} he ingages to me his land w^{ch} is at Nattacouse, that is to say, 4 or 5 litle Indian feilds or else I am to have some of his old Indian corne feilds at Wequittayyag ————— 5 fad.

also for red shag cotton 2 fad. 6 h.

sum is—01-18-0

Novemb^r 28th 1660. Trusted Umpanchee for w^{ch} he ingages his cornfeilds below Wequittayyag 6 fad.

For some of his old ground below Wequittayyag

In wampam	02 fad.	5 h.
1 pr. Breeches	01	2
red shag cotton	00	08
sum is ———02-12-6		

Decemb^r 17, 1660. Umpancheel desired to be trusted as followeth for w^{ch} he Pawnes all his land in Wequittayyag all y^e corne feilds & what ever he reserved is now mortgaged for

1 Red coate	5 fad.	5 h.
2 ***** coates	11	
2 yd. shag cot.	2	4
2 Kersey		4

19 fad. 3 h.

If I am not p^d in Bever when he comes from Koakeg, all his land is to be mine.

Dec. 25-60. Trusted him on y^e same acot.

one red cote 2 knives	5 fad.	9 h.
-----------------------	--------	------

Umpanchee owes me on a gun he had

16 Dec. 1660	2	0
red shak 14 h. knives 9 h.	2	3
more he owes me	2	4

Sum is——7^{li} 19^s 6^{d18}

Decemb^r. 1660. Umpancheale having engaged his cornefeilds at Nattacouse & Wequittayyag & his old ground below Wequittayyag all his corne feilds w^{ch} he had reserved he now make over all to me w^{ch} I take of him for Hadley Towne & y^t for y^e sum above:

{in Sept. 1660 as above he had 1-18-00		
viz. {	in Nov. 60 as above	2-12-06
	in Dec. as above	7-19-06

12-10-00

This Posted to Hadley aco^t I having bought out all
Umpancheals ground y^t he reserved for y^e use of y^e
Towne of Hadley.

De. (60) The Towne of Hadley, Dr.

To Umpancheale for all his corne fields
and old ground

12-10-00

In all early purchases from the Indians, the native retained about everything of value to themselves, as at Springfield in 1636 they reserved "all that ground that is now planted and liberty to take fish and deer, ground must, walnuts, akornes and sasachiminesh, or a kind of pease."¹⁹ So Umpanchala, in 1660, had reserved for his people, in addition to their planting grounds, "liberty to hunt deere or other wild creatures and to take fish and to sett wigwoms on y^e comons and to take wood and trees for use."²⁰

In addition, the natives were inveterate beggars, continually returning for additional compensation after all agreements had been fulfilled by the purchasers. At Springfield, in 1636, to close finally his long negotiations, Pynchon was forced to allow to Wrutherna, "two coats over and above the said particulars expressed."¹⁹ In the hope of further inducements, Indians supposedly acquiescing in a sale deferred setting their marks. Pynchon bought the Chicopee tract on April 20, 1641,²¹ yet on May 24 "when Secousk sett her hand, Mr. Pynchon gave her twelve hands of wampom and a knife." On October 9, 1643, "when Jancompowin sett his hande Mr. Pynchon gave him a coate and knife. He came not to sett his hand to this writtinge till this day." Not until June 27, 1644 was the transaction concluded when "the woman called Secousk, who was the widow²² of Kenix, came again to Mr. Pynchon, desyringe a further reward in respect she said that she had not a full coat as some others had; thereupon Mr. Pynchon gave her a childe coate of redd cotton which came to eight hand of wampom and a glasse and a knife which came to above two hande of wampom more, and she was fully satisfied. Also Nippumsuit had

another large coate for his sister that he said had right in the land which came to sixteen shillings."

Eventually the sorely-tried English learned their lesson and insisted that all the grantors make their marks jointly. Regarding an uncompleted purchase at Springfield in 1674,²³ Elizur Holyoke testified in 1679 that "they coming one at a tyme to me to subscribe it, when I told them they must come all together, the want of which was the only obstruction, for they often severally acknowledged the sale and this writing to be according to their minds and meaning."

Though Pynchon bought of Umpanchala "all his corne feilds and old ground that he had reserved," it is apparent that with familiar tactics the wily Indian, by his "importunities," wheedled Pynchon into allowing him squatter's rights in what is still known as "Indian Hollow" and that he construed these rights to be rights of ownership. There the squalid band remained, a pest to be endured. The Colony laws provided "that the English shall keep their cattle from destroying the Indian's corn in any ground where they have right to plant and if any of their corn be destroyed for want of fencing or herding, the town shall make satisfaction. And for the encouragement of the Indians toward the fencing of their corn fields, such towns, farms or persons whose cattle shall annoy them shall direct, assist and help them in felling of trees, ryv-ing and sharpening of rayls and holing of posts, allowing one Englishman to three or more Indians, and shall also draw the fencing into place for them and allow one man a day or two toward the setting up the same and either lend or sell them tools to finish it."²⁴

Here was a situation too burdensome to be continued, and in despair the town of Hadley appointed a committee of four to find a solution of the problem. The fencing of the entire "Hollow" being too expensive an undertaking even to consider, Umpanchala was on January 17, 1661-2, persuaded to sell again "the land y^t I reserved to myself in Weequetaiogg under y^e name of Chickons Cattones Akees, in all y^e borders and partes ajasent thereunto, even

all and evry persell of y^e s^d land." The once-bit twice-shy settlers were determined that the controversy should not be prolonged by lack of legal verbiage. The sole consideration for the transfer was an agreement "to give to the s^d Umpanchala, five acres of land within y^e compass of y^e s^d land and to fence it next spring with a good sufficient ordinary fence in English account, and w^t of y^e s^d five acres is not broken up, to break it up. And so broken up to leave it Umpanchala as his proper possession, provided y^t haveing once broken it up and fenced it are not to maintaine it, but y^e s^d Umpanchela is to maintaine y^e same."²⁵

Thus did Umpanchala dispose of his great heritage for little more than "a riband to stick in his coat." He had previously agreed that any property remaining to him at the time of his death should become town property. In any event, when the Indians deserted the Valley at the close of King Philip's war, all remaining Indian lands were taken over by the English. Never again did Umpanchela's name appear in the records in connection with landed property.

The foregoing is a typical exposition of Pynchon's methods. Though varying in details, the fundamentals of his transactions were consistently similar.

On April 10, 1674, he received from Mettawompe alias Nattawwassawet a deed for a tract that eventually became a part of Montague and Wendell,²⁶ but the negotiations were initiated July 1, 1661, when the Indian was debited for "two large coats, almost four yards, eighteen fadam," this amount showing a price concession "because moth eaten." So continued the delivery of "blew coats, red west coats and girdles" until the account was balanced thirteen years later with the entry "received by buying y^r land for Swampfeild, 24-00-00."²⁷

The transfer of the South Hadley territory was completed on August 8, 1662,²⁸ though a basic agreement had been arrived at on June 30 of that year, when the Indian chief, Wequogan, with Squompe, his son and heir, came to Pynchon's office. Prompted by the natives, on the

right hand side of a page of his ledger, Pynchon drew a map of the territory, from the upper side of Hadley Neck, down south to the Falls where Holyoke now is, including the Indian names for the mountains, rivers and some localities.²⁹ At the left appears a memorandum of the details of the mutual agreement for the sale, followed by a running account of merchandise delivered up to the date of the formal deed, less than six weeks later. We-quogan and Squompe were numbered among Pynchon's "bright young men," whom he made frequent use of in his affairs and he had taught them to be prompt and businesslike.

SOURCE REFERENCES.

1. Chickons = akions, literally "a little kettle," but by common usage "a hollow." Modern name is Indian Hollow.
2. Cottinyakies. This is identical with the cottinackeesh (kitikanakish, "plantation ground") in Pynchon's deed of 1636. H. A. Wright, *Indian Deeds of Hampden County* (Springfield, Mass., 1905) 12.
3. *Indian Deeds*, 37.
4. Nolwotogg is a dialectal variant of Norwotoock, "the far-away land." See *New England Quarterly*, September, 1939, 541.
5. Kuppo-wonkun-ohk — "place shut in by a bend."
6. Mincomonk = Min-akam-ock — "over across land," i.e. "land across the brook."
7. *Mass. Histo. Soc. Coll. Ser. 4*, vol. 6, 372.
8. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Ser. 4*, vol. 7, 53.
9. Of the Pynchon Account Books, the earliest volume (1645-1650) is in the Forbes Library, Northampton. Those of 1650-1700 are with the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, Springfield.
10. Pynchon Account Book, Forbes Library 1.
11. Pynchon Account Books, vol. 2, 375.
12. Pynchon Account Books, vol. 2, index page I.
13. Pynchon Account Books, vol. 3, index page I.
14. Pynchon Account Books, vol. 3, 11.

15. Pynchon Account Books, vol. 2, index page I.

16. Pynchon Account Books, vol. 3, 79.

17. Pynchon Account Books, vol. 3, 102.

18. This £7-19^s-6^d is computed thus.

19 fad.- 3 hands.

5 " 9 "

2 " 0 "

2 " 3 "

2 " 4 "

30 fad. 19 hands, which is 31 fad.-9 hands.

31 fad. at 5 shillings totals 155 shillings, or £7-15^s-0^d.

9 hands at six pence totals 54 pence, or 0-04 -6

£7-19 -6

19. Indian Deeds, 12. Sasachiminesh = cranberries. Sasa is a reduplicative form of see, "sour," chi is "big," min, "berry," esh, plural ending, the literal meaning being "very sour big berries." That this berry was the cranberry is evidenced by Roger Williams, who gave "sasemineash" as the Narragansett word for cranberries. This is quite similar to Pynchon's form of the word, except that it lacks the adjective "chi" and so means merely "very sour berries." The reference to cranberries as "a kind of pease" indicates that the berry was not known to those emigrants from East Anglia, though it did then grow in Scotland.

20. Indian Deeds, 38.

21. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., vol. 48, 51.

22. Secousk is a compound word meaning no more than "widow woman," that is, secou-squaw, literally "a left behind woman." In composition, the Pynchons, both father and son, invariably (as Roger Williams did frequently) slurred over the noun, so that it remained simply as sk or qua.

23. Indian Deeds, 92.

24. Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts, 28.

25. Indian Deeds, 44.

26. Indian Deeds, 86.

27. Pynchon Account Books, vol. 2, index page.

28. Indian Deeds, 51.

29. Pynchon Account Books, vol. 1, 84.

BOOK REVIEWS.

FORE-AND-AFTERS. By B. B. Crowninshield. With an Introduction by Charles Francis Adams. With illustrations. 1940. 100 pp. and 64 plates, quarto, cloth, illus. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton-Mifflin Company. Price, \$7.50.

Among the infinite number of books relating to the sea which have been published, this author has hit upon a subject that has been quite overlooked by writers generally. It seems that America's greatest contribution to the art of sail has been the development of the fore-and-aft rig into the fine schooner of a past day. Says Mr. Adams, in the introduction, "Mr. Crowninshield has opened for us this page of history. No one is better qualified for the task. From the earliest days of Salem, Crowninshields have been noted as successful ship captains and owners. . . . Mr. B. B. Crowninshield has added to his inheritance a lifetime devoted to marine architecture. He has designed yachts, fishing schooners and sea-going ships of schooner rig. Those were fine ships, including the six-master 'William L. Douglas' and the ship in which the type culminated, the seven-masted steel 'Thomas W. Lawson.' . . . It is a story worth telling, a chapter of history worth writing, something new to add to the romance of the sea." Chapters in the book include The First Fore-and-Afters, American Fishermen, Privateers and Merchant Sloops, Cargo Schooners, Sailing Vessels of the Great Lakes, Yachts and Yachtsmen. The author gives many interesting bits of information in the hundred pages of text. The first really fore-and-aft fishermen of which he could find authentic pictures are the "heel-tapper" schooners of Marblehead, Beverly and Gloucester, which type prevailed during the eighteenth century and down to 1820. More schooners have been built at Essex, Massachusetts, than at any other one place in America, shipyards having been continuously in operation there since 1650, mostly by Burnhams and Storrs. The oldest American schooner still afloat is the 39-ton "Australia" formerly a British vessel, now owned in Maryland, which some historians claim was built in the

eighteenth century. The numerous illustrations will be a delight to all who like to sail a boat, and the plans drawn by Mr. Crowninshield add to the interest. The book is a handsome example of the printer's and bookbinder's art, with its white sail cloth covers and red insert for the title. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

THE LETTERS OF JOHN FISKE. Edited by his daughter Ethel F. Fisk. 1940. 706 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$7.50.

This is a notable work, because letters written by John Fiske, the distinguished historian, to persons in this country and abroad, have a wide and varied interest. He was born Edmund F. Green, but at the age of thirteen took the name of his great-grandfather, John Fisk, later adding a final "e", by which name he was ever after known. The correspondence constitutes a real biography of the man in his relations with eminent people in various parts of the world. The volume opens with his letters at the age of eight, and follows with a complete chain of letters from 1850 to 1901. His scholarship was remarkable at prep school and at Harvard, and throughout his life his erudition was exceptional. His popularity as a lecturer took him to the far corners of this continent, and the personalities with which he came in contact were kindly but frankly discussed in his letters. Many Essex County people, particularly of Salem, are mentioned, but the lack of an index, an introduction and proper notes to this work are serious omissions which detract from the usefulness of the book. Fiske's appraisal of many eminent figures of the Victorian era, whom, as an ardent evolutionist, he met in Europe,—Huxley, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, George Eliot, Tennyson and others—is an interesting feature of the book. He had a particular aversion to Max Müller and Froude and his comments are worth reading. His youngest daughter, Mrs. Otis D. Fisk, in editing the letters, states that John Fiske intended to write his autobiography, but did not live to do so. Recommended to all libraries.

AMERICAN FIGUREHEADS AND THEIR CARVERS. By Pauline A. Pinckney. 1940. 223 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Price, \$4.00.

To choose a subject which has not been previously exploited is quite unusual in these days. But Miss Pinckney has done

just that. This is the first book to be published on Figureheads and gives a vast amount of information picked up by diligent research all along the Atlantic seaboard. The earliest record of American carving which she has discovered is a head made in 1720 for William Pepperrell of Kittery, Maine. From this date, the author follows the art, including the work of such well-known carvers as William Rush of Philadelphia, and, of course, Samuel McIntire and Joseph True of Salem. It is so difficult to find material relating to private vessels, that she has used a generous amount from the available records of the United States Navy. The illustrations are numerous, both of the various periods and of the work of different carvers. These add greatly to the value. One appendix gives a list of figureheads, billets and stern carvings with the name and date of the ship; another reproduces contemporary description of figureheads by William Rush to naval constructor Joshua Humphreys; and still another lists the carvers, alphabetically. A full bibliography and index follow. The Peabody Museum of Salem and the Essex Institute furnished considerable data. Notwithstanding some minor errors, the book is a creditable piece of work and should have a wide appeal. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

ROAD TO ENDOR. A novel by Esther Barstow Hammand. 1940. 434 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: Farrar & Rinehart. Price, \$2.75.

Although this is a work of fiction, the author has delved into old English as well as Massachusetts records to obtain a background for what is really a biography of the Rev. Samuel Parris, the famous witchcraft minister at Salem Village. There is much new information in regard to his early life in England, his work in Barbados on his father's sugar plantation, his years of study at Harvard for which he obtained a scholarship, and his entering the ministry. It is sometimes hard to separate fact from fiction, but Mrs. Hammand's seven years' work on the novel, including visits to the Essex Institute in Salem, has borne fruit in producing a very readable story of this phase of Salem Village history.

AMERICAN FISHERMAN. By Albert Cook Church. With text by James B. Connolly. 1940. 192 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Price, \$3.75.

The fisheries of Gloucester and elsewhere have received quite a bit of attention during the past year or two. This new volume has been prepared by Mr. Church from his famous collection of thousands of photographs of maritime subjects. He made many of the two-hundred sixty photographs which have been used in this book while sailing out of Gloucester on trips to the Banks, and on some of these voyages he had as a shipmaster, James B. Connolly, the now famous writer of sea stories, who contributes the text. Chapters include American Fishery, From Pinkey to Clipper Fisherman, Building of the Gloucestermen, The Mackerel Fishery, Cod, Haddock and Halibut, Swordfishing off Nantucket, and an appendix which gives drawings of various types of fishing vessels. The illustrations are excellent, many of them fine photographs taken under the most hazardous conditions. They will appeal to all who love pictures of ships and who are stirred by tales of the dangerous life at sea. "The Great Wave," used as endpapers, is a particularly fine piece of photography. Recommended to all libraries.

AMERICAN COSTUME DOLLS. How to Make and Dress Them.

By Nina R. Jordan. Illustrated by the author. 1941. 230 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. Price, \$2.00.

This is one of the most complete and useful books that has been published on this subject which is of so much interest just now to the general public. Typical costumes of eleven important periods in American history from 1620 to date are described with full details for making them. The illustrations are drawings by the author, which will be found to be a great help in fashioning these period costumes. An inexpensive book, containing much information. Recommended to all libraries.

H. M. PULHAM, Esquire. By John P. Marquand. 1941.

432 pp., cloth, octavo. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Price, \$2.50.

This popular author, who, by the way, does some of his writing at his Essex County home on Kent's Island in Newbury, has just brought out in book form his latest novel which has been appearing as a serial in a well-known magazine. It is the contemporary story of a man whose life for the past generation conformed to the usual pattern of the

privileged classes in Boston. His home was typical of that environment; he attended the proper preparatory school, and Harvard; his family was socially important; and in his business connections he fitted into the world with complacency. While it is true that much profanity and loose morals, as indicated in this story, are quite prevalent today, it is hardly a pretty picture of modern life that Mr. Marquand paints.

WENHAM TOWN RECORDS, 1730-1775. Published by the Wenham Historical Society. 1940. 292 pp., octavo, cloth. Salem: Newcomb & Gauss Co. Price, \$3.00.

This is the third volume that this forward-looking Society has published, and carries the printed records to the period of the Revolution. It is a very good piece of work from the local press of Newcomb & Gauss, which has done this type of printing since 1823. Fortunately, an index is provided. Recommended to all libraries which feature New England Town records.

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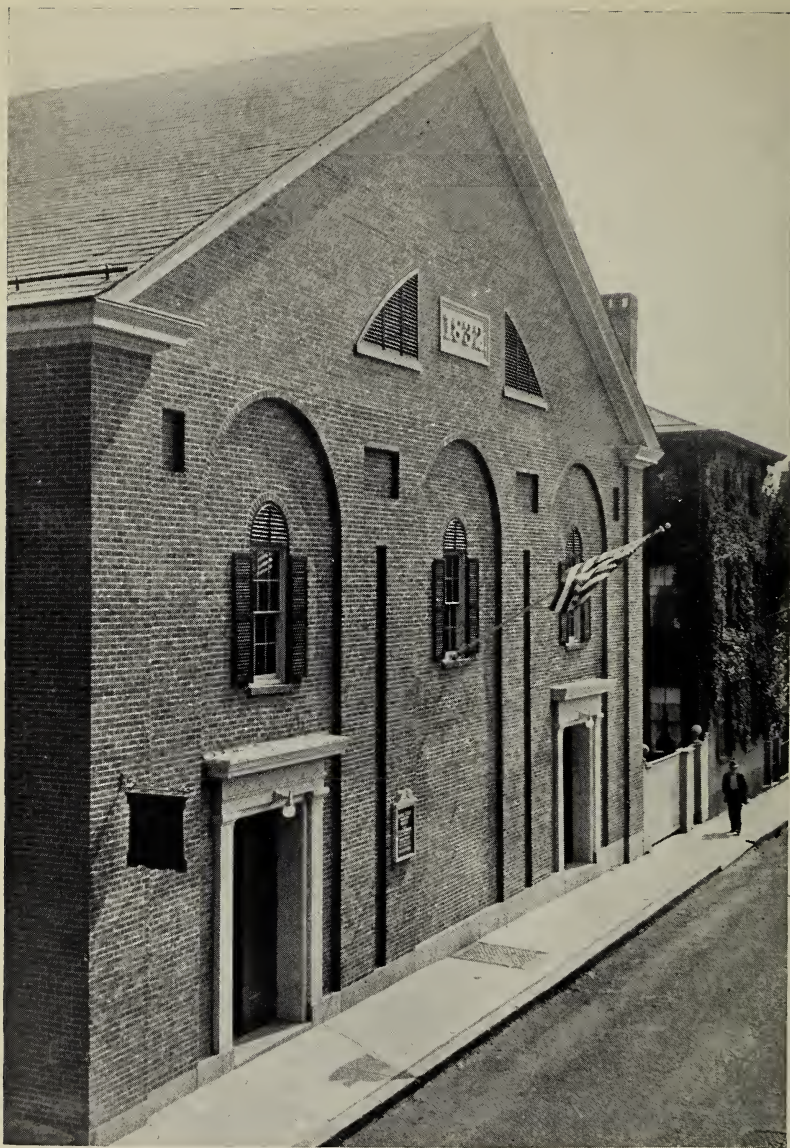
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD WATERS

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CROMBIE STREET CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

As restored after the fire of 1934

Showing the vine-covered Richardson house which was presented to the Church in 1941
as a Parsonage and Parish House

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXVII

JULY, 1941

No. 3

HISTORICAL NOTES OF THE CROMBIE STREET CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.

By IRVING KINSMAN ANNABLE.

A century ago personal opinion was set and decided, — very set, and very decided. Churches of different denominations hardly recognized each other — the Evangelical churches looked upon the Liberal ones as hardly better than heathen. And the same feeling was carried into personal and business affairs.

An illustration of this set and decided feeling occurred in our own church in 1835. Our pastor exchanged pulpits for one Sunday with the pastor of the Tabernacle Church, who was of pronounced pro-slavery opinion, without giving previous notice of the exchange to our congregation. When Dr. Worcester entered our pulpit one of our members, who had strong anti-slavery views, immediately arose from his pew and left the church in such a manner as to plainly show his displeasure. This incident caused quite a lot of excitement, which required two business meetings to discuss before it quieted down.

Where such set and decided opinions were prevalent it is not difficult for us to realize that it was easy for the members of a church to have differences of opinion among themselves. Church government then was all under the old plan of two bodies, the Church itself and the Proprietors who owned the church building, and assumed responsibility for the business affairs of the church.

In the church on Howard Street the members of the church were largely of one point of view and the Pro-

prietors largely of an opposite view, and though they had called for advice and assistance from the neighboring churches of our denomination they were unable to come to an agreement, and so decided to accept the advice of the last council that they called, and separate. Rev. William Williams, who had been pastor for ten years, presented his resignation and he and his friends went their way.

The Howard Street Church was organized in 1804 by a group who left the Tabernacle Church. Their records are not available, possibly lost or destroyed when the church dissolved in 1868. However, a copy of part of their records survives and tells us that in 1828 there was serious dissension in the church which apparently grew worse until the separation in 1832. What caused the dissension is not a matter of record. Some years later a member of this church wrote that the older people in the church who had first-hand knowledge of the difficulty refused to say anything about it. Some people of a later generation have thought that it may have been the subject of slavery that caused the trouble, but as the question had not been brought before the public in 1828 as Garrison presented it a few years later, and more convincingly, we find that only a few years afterward both Howard Street Church and the Crombie Street Church were decidedly anti-slavery; we must conclude that the source of the trouble was elsewhere.

The meeting of the Howard Street Church which ended in the resignation of Rev. William Williams and 139 other members of that church (probably nearly half its membership) was held on February 16, 1832, and he and his followers immediately made plans for the future. In the *Salem Observer*, which was published Saturday morning, we read the following notice:—

We understand that the Rev. Mr. Williams of this town has at his request been dismissed from the pastoral care of the Howard Street Religious Society; and that many of his friends wishing to secure his continued pastoral services intend forming a new religious society under his ministry,—and that they intend to meet for the present in the Lyceum.

We are requested to state that there will be public religious services at the Lyceum tomorrow.

Besides the 139 members of the Howard Street Church who followed Rev. Mr. Williams there were 77 or more regular attendants who were not members of the church.

The Lyceum, organized a few years before, for the purpose of bringing popular and able lecturers to Salem, had a hall on Church Street next to the corner of Washington Street. The spot is now occupied by a brick building, but when the old wooden building was taken down the roof was found to be in such good condition that it was supported on posts while the new walls were being erected, and the roof that sheltered our predecessors is now protecting the present building.

In this hall the small and low platform was in the middle of the south side, with ante-rooms at the right and left. The seats were pews, not single seats, and rose in semi-circular form from the front to the back of the room, so that the audience coming in from the street had to climb a flight of stairs, and then go down the steps in the aisles to their seats. However, every seat had a good view of the speaker on the platform and the acoustic properties were good. It was in this hall that Alexander Graham Bell gave the first public demonstration of the telephone, in 1876. Preaching services and Sunday School were held in Lyceum Hall regularly for some months, while they were preparing a permanent church home, and the church temporarily took the name of the "Lyceum Society."

Meetings preliminary to forming a permanent organization were held in Washington Hall, on Washington Street (or Court Street as it was then called) and at a meeting on April 23rd they voted to organize the church on the first Wednesday in May, the second day of the month. On that day the deliberation of the Ecclesiastical Council, made up of pastors and delegates from neighboring churches of our denomination, lasted so long that they decided to adjourn until the next day. On coming together that morning they found Lyceum Hall too cold for comfort, so they adjourned to Washington Hall, where they finished their deliberations and held the pub-

lic service completing the organization of the Church, Thursday, May 3, 1832.

Washington Hall, where our church was organized was on the third story of the building next south of the present City Hall (the City Hall was not built until five years after the church was organized). It was a fair-sized hall, heated by four fireplaces, with a musicians' gallery in the middle of one side. The woodwork was finely carved. It must have been a beautiful room in 1832. In its later years it was used as a store room by a furniture dealer who was a member of this church. On May 8th they formally adopted the name of the "New Congregational Church" and in September this was changed to "Crombie Street Church."

When looking for a permanent home they found that the building of the Salem Theatre, on Crombie Street, could be bought and they promptly proceeded to remodel the building for the use of the church. Preliminary talks before the purchase of the building were held in the office of Rufus Choate, the famous lawyer for whom the Choate Room is named.

The church at that time consisted of only the present body of the church — the vestry, now the Williams Room, was not added until 1851. The church was one high-studded room, not the present two-story arrangement that came after the fire of 1934. The building was designed by McIntyre, the architect of so many of the beautiful houses of that time. The entrances were as at present, and the pulpit was in the western (street) end, between the entrances. Small galleries were at either side of the pulpit, over the entrances. People coming in faced the audience — a just punishment for late comers. On the wall over the pulpit was incised —

LOVE THE TRUTH AND PEACE

— advice that may have been inspired by past difficulties, but which has been successfully followed here for more than a century. The seats rose in a gradual incline from the front to the back, possibly due to the floor having been built that way for the theatre. There were 138 pews,

each seating five persons comfortably — twenty of these pews, the back center ones, were reserved for the “Singing seats.”

Adjoining the church property, on the corner of Crombie and Essex Streets, was the Salem Hotel, or Tavern. The land now occupied by the Williams Room was a livery stable, and the passage adjoining the church was a right of way for this stable.

In November the new church building was dedicated and Rev. William Williams was formally installed as pastor. The account of the Council called for the dedication and installation tells us that they “assembled at the Salem Hotel at the hour appointed and after the usual preliminary proceedings repaired to the Meeting House in Crombie Street.” The local papers gave high praise to the services and the sermon of the occasion.

The lack of a vestry was very trying to the church. Sunday School and mid-week evening meetings were held sometimes in the church, but more often in various halls:—

Washington Hall on Court (now Washington) Street
Commercial School Room on County (now Federal) Street

Concert Hall on Central Street

Howard Hall (not so named then) on Crombie Street

Masonic Hall on Washington Street

The vestry of the Barton Square Church and some other locations not easily identified today.

Committee and business meetings were often held in private homes or in the offices of some of the members.

These conditions gave cause for continual complaint, until, in 1850, it was proposed to sell the church — (it was even advertised in the papers) — and build a new church with ample accommodations, on a better site, preferably on the southerly side of Essex Street, somewhere between Liberty Street and Summer Street. The efforts to sell were not successful, but a year later the owner of the hotel and the stable decided to close them and sold the

land on which the stable stood to the church, and they immediately built a vestry — now the Williams Room — which was dedicated in 1852.

At the same time alterations were made in the church, a new pulpit was built at the eastern end (adjoining the new vestry), the pews turned around, the floor made level and a gallery extended across the western end. The reading desk now used in the Williams Room was made of wood from the old pulpit. The walls curved slightly at the top to meet the ceiling, and when the church was redecorated in 1871 on this curve, high above the pulpit was painted an all-seeing eye. Halfway along the northern side were the tables of stone containing the Ten Commandments. Can someone among our older members recall what was on the southern side?

This new arrangement served for forty years, and in 1892 the old pews were removed and new and more comfortable ones installed, the church redecorated and other improvements made, including furnaces for heating.

From 1835 to 1892 the church was heated by two large stoves, one on each side, just inside the entrance, and another stove was in the vestry. It is doubtful if the church was heated in any way during the first three years, for the first mention of heating that we find in the records was in January, 1835, when they voted to install stoves. A year later they voted to sell the stoves and put in furnaces, but for some reason (possibly financial) it was not done, — the furnaces did not arrive until 1892, and soon after 1900 they were replaced by steam heat.

With expanding church activities we again felt the lack of room, but saw no way to enlarge until 1934 when the fire left only the walls standing, and then by thoughtful planning we evolved our present arrangement, with the Choate Room on the street level and the church above. Some similar arrangement had been suggested in the early years of the church, when the use of a vestry was so pressing, but no definite action was taken.

Our first pastor, Rev. William Williams resigned in 1838, after six years of apparently pleasant and success-

ful service, — but the strained financial condition of the church would not permit of paying the salary which he considered necessary. He went to Exeter, N. H., but after serving there for a few years he resigned, to come back to Salem to study medicine. He practised here until his death in 1860.

The second pastor was Rev. Alexander J. Sessions, a young man, whom, from the reading of the records during his ministry, we may judge to have been very strict regarding the behaviour of his parishioners, as he frequently called them to account for their behaviour. He was also lacking in tact and judgment, if one may read between the lines of some of the records. He resigned apparently for the same reason that his predecessor did, — lack of adequate salary.

The next pastor, Rev. James M. Hoppin, seems to have been of a very different temperament from his predecessor. The affairs of the church went on smoothly and prosperously. Soon after he came the church raised funds, bought the land adjoining the church, and built a vestry, a striking contrast to the financial difficulties of the earlier years. He resigned in 1859, and was later a professor at Yale University. When he left Salem he gave to the church a share in the Salem Athenaeum, and all of his successors have used and enjoyed this fine library.

Mr. Hoppin was succeeded by Rev. J. Henry Thayer, who, to judge by the records during his pastorate, and the opinion of those who knew him, was a very able and agreeable pastor. In the fall of 1862 the church granted him leave of absence for nine months that he might go as Chaplain of the 40th Massachusetts Regiment. In 1864 he resigned to accept a professorship in the Andover Theological Seminary, and some years later he went to the Divinity School of Harvard University.

The next pastorate was both brief and sad. Rev. Clarendon Waite was installed as pastor early in 1866, but a few months later his health failed and he resigned to accept a professorship in a drier climate in the West; but he died on his way to his field of new endeavor. It

is pleasant to note that the church raised a subscription and gave him over \$1,000 as a parting gift.

In 1867 Rev. Hugh Elder, a native of Scotland, became our pastor. A very sincere and pleasant man, he was a friend of every member of the church and congregation, and a worker for the good of both the church and the community. He resigned in 1884 to accept the pastorate of a college church in England. There are still with us a number who remember him affectionately.

The next pastor was Rev. Louis B. Voorhees, who stayed with us four years, and resigned on account of his health. He was a pleasant man, and a sincere worker.

In 1890 Rev. John Wright Buckham, a young but able man, was installed as pastor. He was a thorough student, and in 1903 he was called to the professorship of Theology in the Pacific Theological Seminary, which later became a department of the University of California, where he is now Professor Emeritus. During his years here he was quite active in movements for the good of the city.

Dr. Adolf A. Berle came in the fall of 1903 to preach for a Sunday or two, and stayed with us for several years. He was a very able preacher, and an active and energetic worker both in the church and the community. Though a student and the author of some theological works, he was in many ways a striking contrast to the quieter ways of his predecessors. He was popular and drew a large congregation. He left Salem to go to the Shawmut Congregational Church in Boston, and later retired from active ministerial work to devote his whole time to the subject of child education, in which he is still active.

Rev. George Lawrence Parker was our next pastor — a sincere and interesting man. He stayed with us only a few years, and now is pastor of the Unitarian Church in Keene, N. H.

Rev. Harry J. Newton came to us in 1913. A young and ambitious man — conscientious worker both for the church and the city. In 1917 he received a year's leave of absence to go across as a Y. M. C. A. worker. Part of the time during his absence our Sunday services were



INTERIOR OF CROMBIE STREET CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

conducted by his brother, Rev. J. Edward Newton. Mr. Newton left us to go to Lawrence, and is now pastor of the Dwight Place Congregational Church in New Haven.

Rev. John H. Leamon, who succeeded Mr. Newton, came to us direct from the Theological School of Boston University. He is studious, but also an active worker and a lover of sports. He left us to go to a larger church in Melrose Highlands and has just resigned that charge to accept the pastorate of the First Congregational Church in Cambridge, a position which places him among the leading ministers of our denomination.

He was followed by Rev. Carl Heath Kopf, a young man, very active, and one whose ways drew both young and old to him. After five years here, during which he helped us celebrate our 100th anniversary, he accepted a call to the Mount Vernon Church in Boston. He took this work as a challenge to his ability, — as the church is in a location in which the population has changed radically in the last few years, and the people were very much discouraged as to its prospects. He has been very successful there, drawing large congregations — even on Easter having to have two morning services.

Mr. Kopf was followed by Rev. S. Lawrence Johnson, who is still with us, so that no biography is necessary. We appreciate his sincere efforts for the welfare of the church and each individual member of it.

The membership of the church, which started at 139 in 1832 had grown to 260 in 1859, and has varied up and down since then.

Under the Proprietorship plan the pews were largely owned by individuals, though some were held by the Proprietors and those who did not want to buy pews could hire sittings. In 1869, between Proprietors of pews and those who hired there were 450 seats so occupied, which indicates a much larger Sunday congregation than we have had since. However, that is a condition common to most of our churches. The population of Salem has changed materially since that date.

The church has always paid particular attention to music — or, as the records of the first dozen years say,

to "singing." Those early records tell us that twenty pews at the rear center of the church were reserved as "singing seats," and there are frequent references to Singing Schools and the employment of instructors in singing, — with liberal appropriations from the church treasury.

There was no organ till 1839, but there was "orchestral accompaniment" (probably violin or cornet, or both) from the first, and we may have some doubts as to the value of the organ of 1839, or of a new one in 1845, as a help to church music from the fact that the orchestral accompaniment was kept up until another organ was installed in the gallery opposite the pulpit in 1851.

In 1860 money was raised by subscription to install a new organ, "the finest in the city." It is not mentioned in the records, but later investigation tells us that this organ came from the Brattle Street Church in Boston. It was really a fine organ and served us until the fire of 1934 — and many of its pipes are now in the present organ.

The financial affairs of the church have, excepting a few short intervals, been a source of much anxiety. Our first two pastors resigned because the church could not afford salaries which they considered necessary for their proper support. In fact, there was difficulty in raising the amount that we did pay them.

From 1850 to 1860 the church finances seemed to be a little easier, and from 1860 to 1865 the treasury was really prosperous. After that the finances gradually slipped back, till in 1903 they seemed very doubtful. Then Dr. Berle's popularity, which drew large congregations, and his ability to raise funds, again made the treasury flush — that is, for a church treasury.

After Dr. Berle left, the usual reaction from a popular preacher was felt — a reduced congregation and a much reduced income, but we have continued to live and maintain our services — always paying our bills, though often with difficulty in raising the money.

That applies to the regular income of the church. For extra or out of the ordinary needs there have been many

special subscriptions, in 1839, and again in 1845, for an organ; in 1851 for the new vestry and extensive changes in the church; in 1860 for a new organ; in 1862 to outfit Mr. Thayer for his service in the army; in 1892 to renovate the interior of the church, install new pews, and furnaces for better heating; in 1934 to rebuild after the fire, and for many other purposes. And there have been many subscriptions to meet deficits in the regular expenses of the church. In all of these the Women's Associations have been notably helpful.

Occasional legacies have also been a great help in meeting the deficiencies in the regular income — nearly all of our legacies have disappeared in that way, but the last legacy we received has been held as a Trust Fund, the income only to be used for the support of the Church. We hope that by gift or by legacy we may add materially to that Trust.

In 1900 someone wrote, "From a worldly standpoint Crombie Street Church is poor. We have no wealthy members who could easily make up deficiencies. Our only reliance is upon each individual member doing his share. If your church is poor in money it is rich in faith and loyalty."

The Sunday School was started at the time the church was organized. For twenty years it labored under the disadvantage of having no permanent meeting place — meeting in one hall one year and in another hall the next year — sometimes on Washington Street — then on Federal Street — then on Essex Street, and even for a short time on the opposite side of Crombie Street. The new vestry, in 1851, was the realization of the desires of twenty years.

The school has had its ups and downs, with the largest membership of 305 in 1878. A gradual, but steady change in the population of Salem, is the principal reason that it has a smaller membership now than it did sixty years ago. The School has always been fortunate in having sincere and faithful teachers and officers. On the Fourth of July in 1876 our church and Sunday School

participated, with all other churches in the city, in a grand parade, to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. We had a number of floats in the parade. The inscription on our banner was

“Blessed is the Nation whose
God is the Lord”

The women of the church have from the start been energetic and efficient workers. Their first organization was known as the Graham Society, later changed to the Benevolent Society, which name lasted for a good many years, but the society has since been renamed as the Women's Association. It is now, as always, the women of the church working for the good of the church. The church records have many references to the work and generosity of the women in the church improvements and to the very substantial financial assistance at various times.

The large amount of charitable and missionary work done by the women is missing from the church records, with the exception of some references to the large contributions to the Christian Commission and the Sanitary Commission (both of which may be called forerunners of our present Red Cross) during the Civil War. A search of their records—which we hope have been preserved—would give us an instructive and interesting picture of the good they have done.

Though they were so active in the work and support of the church, the place of the women in the business affairs was for many years as observers, rather than participants—that is, on the surface; but we have no doubt that the men considered their opinions on all important matters. In the records of a meeting held on April 23, 1832, we find that “The female members expressed their approbation to what had been done by unanimously rising” and similar entries run through the records for more than forty years. At one time a vote was passed to authorize women to vote the same as the men, but evidently they were reluctant to exercise the privilege, for the vote was repeated at least twice at various intervals.

Finally they realized that the call for their vote was in earnest, and now they take their proper part in business meetings.

The first Society of Christian Endeavor in Salem, and one of the earliest in the country, was organized in Crombie Street in the fall of 1882. Dr. Clark started the Christian Endeavor movement in the winter of 1881-1882 in Portland, Maine, and at that time one of our members was teaching in the High School there. She was so impressed with the idea of the Society that she suggested the organization of one here, and from that time, though the name has been changed, we have had young people's groups working energetically in the Church.

Dr. Buckham started a Men's Club in the eighteen nineties, and later, at Dr. Berle's suggestion, we honored an earlier pastor by changing the name to the Thayer Club. Under the leadership of Mr. Newton the Club was active in stopping prize fighting in Salem, and made the sporting crowd really afraid of the name "Thayer Club." Though the name has again been changed, the present Men's Club is the direct descendant of the Club that Dr. Buckham organized and is an active, wide-awake organization. The work of the Women's Missionary Society deserves larger notice, but it is not mentioned in the church records, and must be found in their own records. They have done a good work, which deserves recognition.

There have been a number of other societies connected with the church, and working for it. Some have simply ceased to exist, and others have merged with those already mentioned. A study of the records of all of these societies would be necessary to complete a true picture of the work of the church.

We miss the records of the religious services. We know that there were two preaching services on Sundays, one in the forenoon, and one in the afternoon, from 1832 till 1886, when the afternoon service was dropped and the forenoon services continued. Sunday evening services are unrecorded for a good many years, but in the eighteen seventies and early eighties there was a prayer meeting

each Sunday evening, except that once a month it was omitted to allow for a Sunday School concert.

Midweek prayer meetings were held, sometimes on Tuesday evenings and sometimes on Friday evenings, and sometimes on both of these evenings. For a good many years the Tuesday and Friday evening meetings were an established custom in all of the evangelical churches of the city, and other evening gatherings gave way to them.

The hours of the Sunday School are not recorded for the early years, but we find that later the School met at two o'clock, before the afternoon preaching service, which began at 3.15 or 3.30. For several years after the afternoon preaching service was omitted the School met at 12 o'clock, directly after the morning service, and later the time was changed to before the morning service. The meetings of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, and its successors, have mostly been held on Sunday evenings.

While Dr. Berle was with us, a movement started to unite the South and Crombie Street Churches. There was difficulty and delay in agreeing on details, but finally what seemed to be an acceptable plan was found and apparently the union was to be effected, when a large and influential group of the South Church suddenly left and went to the Tabernacle, thus stopping any further action.

The fire in February 1934 was a severe blow to the church, and as there was a movement in the city to widen Crombie Street it was nearly three months before we could make any decision about rebuilding. When the city decided not to widen the street the Church soon made plans for rebuilding, and going on with the work. While the fire was still at its height we had a cordial invitation from the First Universalist Church to make use of their facilities and our services the next Sunday were held in their chapel, which we continued to use until our church was rebuilt. Other churches were also cordial in their invitations to help us, but the Universalist Church seemed to have the best facilities to meet our needs.

The rebuilding of our church cannot be mentioned without referring to the work of our pastor in that connection. He was a very large part of the brains and energy of the project, and deserves great credit for it. The church was rebuilt and dedicated on April 21, 1935.

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Personal recollections of some members of the church.

The books of the Treasurer of the Church, and of the Treasurer of the Proprietors for the early years are missing. If available they would add interesting information to the brief records made by the Clerks.

The records of the Clerks of the Church from 1832 to 1860 were brief and formal; but beginning with the latter year they give much more information.

TO THE FARTHEST GULF.

OUTLINE OF THE OLD CHINA TRADE, 1784-1844.

BY DOROTHY S. HAWES.

(Continued from Volume LXXVII, page 142.)

IV.

On his second voyage to Canton Major Shaw noted in his *Journal* that it must be "a most satisfactory consideration to every American that his country can carry on its commerce with China under advantages, if not in many respects superior, yet in all cases equal, to those possessed by any other people." He was, of course, referring to the fact that Americans obtained their teas in return for ginseng while the Europeans purchased principally with specie, but the value of the drug had been optimistically overestimated and something else had to be found — something the Chinese would accept in return for teas.

Captain Cook's voyage to the northwest coast of America proved to the English that a lucrative fur trade might be carried on with the Indians and several British ships were sent from Canton to collect pelts. Ledyard's reports eventually spurred Americans to the same purpose.

About the time of John Ledyard's death a ship was sent out from Boston. It was the *Columbia*, two hundred and thirteen tons, built by the famous Briggs brothers and financed by Joseph Barrell, Samuel Brown, Captain Hatch, Charles Bulfinch, the architect, J. M. Pintard and John Derby. The command was given to Captain John Kendrick and second in command was John Gray, former officer of the Continental navy, captain of the ninety-ton sloop *Lady Washington* which accompanied the *Columbia*. The two vessels ran into storms off Cape Horn and so arrived at Nootka Sound too late in the season to do any trading. They were forced to lay over until the next year by which time their provisions were running low and Captain Kendrick ordered Captain Gray to proceed to Canton with what furs had been collected.

When Gray arrived in China he asked Thomas Randall to undertake the sale of the fifteen hundred otter skins he had brought with him. It was unfortunate for the two Americans that the skins were so fine because the Viceroy took a fancy to them and that, under the Chinese system, could mean only one thing — the co-hong would be obliged to purchase them and present them to his Excellency. The bidding was therefore low but as the *Columbia* was bound to sail in season there was nothing to do except agree to the terms.

Randall wrote to Alexander Hamilton concerning the fur trade: he stated the demand was great but Americans were unable to profit from their advantages because of separate interests and lack of any established communal factory. He added that could vessels carrying a cargo of sea-otter, the most valuable fur, stay over a season they would get good prices but transients were open to imposition. The profits in American trade, however, lay in quick barter; it was carried out on no such scale as the British trade, nor could Americans afford to lay over a season, especially since they had no organization like the East India Company behind them. Randall was correct in his estimate as far as it went, but he failed to take into consideration the tenacity of the Yankee trader, who, once he found something that was in demand in the China market, was going to get it there in spite of any obstacle.

Massachusetts was quick to see the advantages of the northwest fur trade. Although the *Columbia's* first voyage was not financially successful — she arrived home with a damaged cargo and on top of that found the price of tea was depressed because fourteen vessels had already made port that season — she was promptly refitted for a second voyage. On her initial venture the *Columbia* was the first American ship to circumnavigate the globe; on her next, her commander, Captain Gray, discovered the mouth of the Columbia River, an even more important achievement because of the great weight it gave to American claims to the northwest coast.

John Boit, the sixteen-year-old mate of the *Columbia*, logged for May 12th, 1792, "This day saw an appearance

of a spacious harbor abreast the ship, haul'd our wind for it, observed two sandbars making off, with passage between them to a fine river. . . . The river extended to the N. E. as far as the eye could reach and water fit to drink as far down as the Bars at the entrance. We directed our course up this noble River in search of a Village. The beach was lined with natives who ran along shore following the Ship. Soon after, above twenty canoes came off, and brought a good lot of Furs and Salmon, which last they sold two for a board nail. The furs we likewise bought cheap for copper and cloth. They appeared to view the Ship with great astonishment."

"May 18. Captain Gray named this river *Columbia*."

Captain Gray commanded the *Columbia* on her two famous voyages, but great credit is also due to Captain Kendrick of whom a contemporary enthusiastically wrote, "He was the first American to burst forth into the world and traverse those distant regions which were then but little known. He taught many of his countrymen the way to wealth and the method of navigating distant seas with ease and safety." Captain Kendrick ranged the seas for the United States much as Cook had circled the globe for England. The northwest coast so fascinated him, perhaps because he had the vision to foresee its potentialities, that he bought large tracts of lands from the Indians, but he did not confine his explorations to the rugged shores of North America. He sailed as well among the islands of the Pacific and found sandalwood growing wild on the Sandwich Islands. This fragrant wood was used by the Chinese to make joss sticks to burn in their temples as offerings to the gods. Captain Kendrick was accidentally killed in Owhyee in 1794 by salutes from a ship's guns, one of which, through an oversight, was loaded with grapeshot.

The *Columbia* and the *Lady Washington* sailed from Boston and for years Boston had such a monopoly in the fur trade that all Americans were known to the Indians as "Boston-men." The trade was in full swing by 1792 and proved a tremendous asset to a people poor in specie, but rich in ships and crews. In return for pelts, teas,

the Golden Fleece of the China trade, were carried in American bottoms not only home but to Europe as well. Americans obtained furs from the Indians for almost nothing — beads and mirrors and when these became too common cloth, iron and nails — but it was a hazardous undertaking. Navigating Cape Horn where a ship might run into floating icebergs or be washed by tempestuous waves required skill and nerve and there was not a seaman who failed to give a sigh of relief once his ship was headed north into the blue waters of the Pacific. Then the Indians were treacherous to deal with; it is true they had not always been fairly treated by the white men but they never failed to retaliate for any insult, either real or fancied, in the most barbarous fashion. Captain Kendrick's son was killed and so was a mate of the *Columbia*.

In 1803 the *Boston* arrived on the coast and the Captain presented a fowling gun as a token of friendship to the chief with whom he was trading. The next day the brave returned the gun broken and remarked it was no good. This was too great a strain on the Captain's self-control and he promptly called the man a liar. Within twenty-four hours the Indians surrounded and seized the ship and massacred everyone on board with the exception of two of the crew who were taken into slavery. One of them, John Jewitt, an armorer, was forced to make weapons. After three years' imprisonment the captives effected their escape on the brig *Lydia*.

As the fur trade grew men not only sailed around the coast but also a frenzied race overland began. In the beginning of the nineteenth century John Jacob Astor formed a company to colonize Indian territory and thus monopolize the trade. In 1811 he sent out the ill-fated *Tonquin* with a company of merchants on board, who, together with a band of voyageurs from Canada, were to found Astoria. Things went along smoothly enough for the first few months, but from misunderstandings grew a bitter hatred between the Indians and the white men. One day the savages treacherously seized the *Tonquin* and when it was obvious there was no chance of escape a member of the crew ignited a powder keg and like Sam-

son destroyed his enemies together with himself. Astoria was sold to the British in 1812.

The search for furs led not only to the northwest coast but to all the islands of the Pacific. The *Betsy* of New York, ninety-three tons, under Captain Fanning and with a crew of twenty-seven men, most of them from New England, reached Masafuero near San Fernandez off the coast of Chile in 1798 and loaded with seal skins. Fanning's *Voyages* are especially informative in describing the adventurous courage that led American sailors to navigate every body of water, known or unknown, in the world. The captain sailed for twenty-five years, was agent for seventy expeditions and it was his petition that led Congress to authorize an exploring expedition under Commodore Wilkes. He discovered Fanning's Island lying twelve hundred miles south of Honolulu.

From Masafuero the *Betsy* sailed to the Marquesas, the Washington and Ladrone Islands. At the last named place Captain Fanning picked up survivors, among them three women, of an East India Company ship. When they arrived at Macao the mandarin at first refused to issue a chop because of the women on board but the matter was finally settled when the chief of the Company promised to send them away on the first available vessel. The *Betsy* was then allowed to leave for Canton where the cargo of furs was sold and another of teas, silks and chinaware taken on board. South of Sumatra on her homeward voyage she was surprised by twenty-nine Malay piratical proas but managed to put them to rout. "Our ship," wrote the Captain, "showed fourteen guns; four, however, false, but so painted as exactly to resemble our iron ones."

The *Betsy* returned home after an absence of twenty-three months. The net profits of this voyage were \$52,300 for the owners and the amount paid into the national treasury as duties three times more than the cost of the ship. She was the first American vessel entirely manned by native Americans — all of them, incidentally, under twenty-eight — to sail around the world from New York.

The *Betsy* was by no means the only, or even the first, small ship to be sent on such a voyage; indeed, it was the rule rather than the exception that American ships in the Canton-northwest trade were small. Undaunted by the fact they were too poor to build larger and more suitable craft the merchants nevertheless persevered and existing logs give thrilling testimony to the courage of those who sailed these tiny vessels. In 1790 the seventy-ton brigantine *Hope* was sent out from Boston to the northwest coast under Joseph Ingraham, former mate to Captain Gray, and met the ninety-ton *Lady Washington* in Canton. Captain Kendrick had been nearly four years away from home! It was on this voyage that Captain Ingraham discovered and named the Washington group of the Marquesas.

The long journey from east to west coast was broken by visits to the Falkland Islands, Juan Fernandez, or, more appealing still to the sailors, the Sandwich Islands. Then came a long season of trading with the Indians, perhaps as much as a year and a half on the northwest coast, then back again to the Sandwich Islands where any of the crew suffering from scurvy might recover with fresh fruits and sunshine.

Owhyee seems to have been the favorite port of call — the natives were as gay as the Indians were saturnine and were even more than hospitable allowing their women to consort freely with strangers. It was not uncommon for a vessel to be crowded with island mermaids who thought nothing of swimming out two or three miles from shore for a visit; sometimes there were so many that numbers of them had to swim back again! The Sandwich Islanders were soft spoken and gentle in their manner and alluring with their delicate features and small, graceful hands. By way of adornment they wore wreaths of flowers or bracelets and necklaces of shells. On ceremonial occasions the men attired themselves picturesquely in capes made entirely of yellow feathers.

In 1790 a romantic character, John Young, a seaman, arrived in Owhyee and remained to marry a native. He became King Tamaammaah's advisor and through him

traders bargained for sandalwood to complete their cargoes. One of his sons served with distinction in the navy during the War of 1812.

The Fijis were more treacherous but New Englanders, as undeterred by an occasional cannibalistic feast as they were by a scalping, continued to visit the islands to gather edible birds' nests and *bêche-de-mer* for the delectation of the mandarins.

At Timor, Amasa Delano found a manuscript history of the *Pandora*, the vessel sent out in search of the mutineers of the *Bounty*. The first person to visit the now famous Pitcairn Island where the mutineers and their Tahitian wives had settled was Captain Mayhew Folger, on the *Topaz*, in search of furs. The only survivor of the mutiny was Alexander Smith living in patriarchal manner as mentor to the thirty-four women and children who survived their husbands and fathers. The story of Captain Folger's amazement is well known. On arriving at the island the natives who boarded his ship not only greeted him in English but insisted on saying grace before each meal!

On another voyage, Amasa Delano picked up eight stranded Japanese in one of the Pacific Islands and took them to Canton where, much to the surprise of everyone, it was discovered that, although they were not Chinese, they could understand the written characters. With the aid of a Chinese servant Delano learned they came from "Osaca in the Island of Nippon." The eight men were returned to their native land through the intervention of the Dutch, the only foreigners allowed the privilege of trade in Japan, since the islanders, resentful of the conduct of the Portuguese, had created a barrier against the Europeans in the seventeenth century.

Sea-otter so admired by the mandarins brought the best prices in Canton, but the Yankees also went after seal-skins. Seals were found on the islands off South America — the Falklands, Masafuero, St. Paul and Amsterdam — as well as off the coast of California. The luckless creatures were killed by clubbing them over the head and groups of sealers often remained on the islands to catch

the animals and cure the skins while their ships traded up and down the coast, or until the arrival of other company ships to pick them up. It was a lucrative trade while it lasted, but as mothers, fathers and babies were clubbed indiscriminately the supply could not last forever and the seal became practically extinct. The pelts brought only a few dollars in Canton, but because seals were so easy to catch cargoes were often made up of as many as a hundred thousand skins.

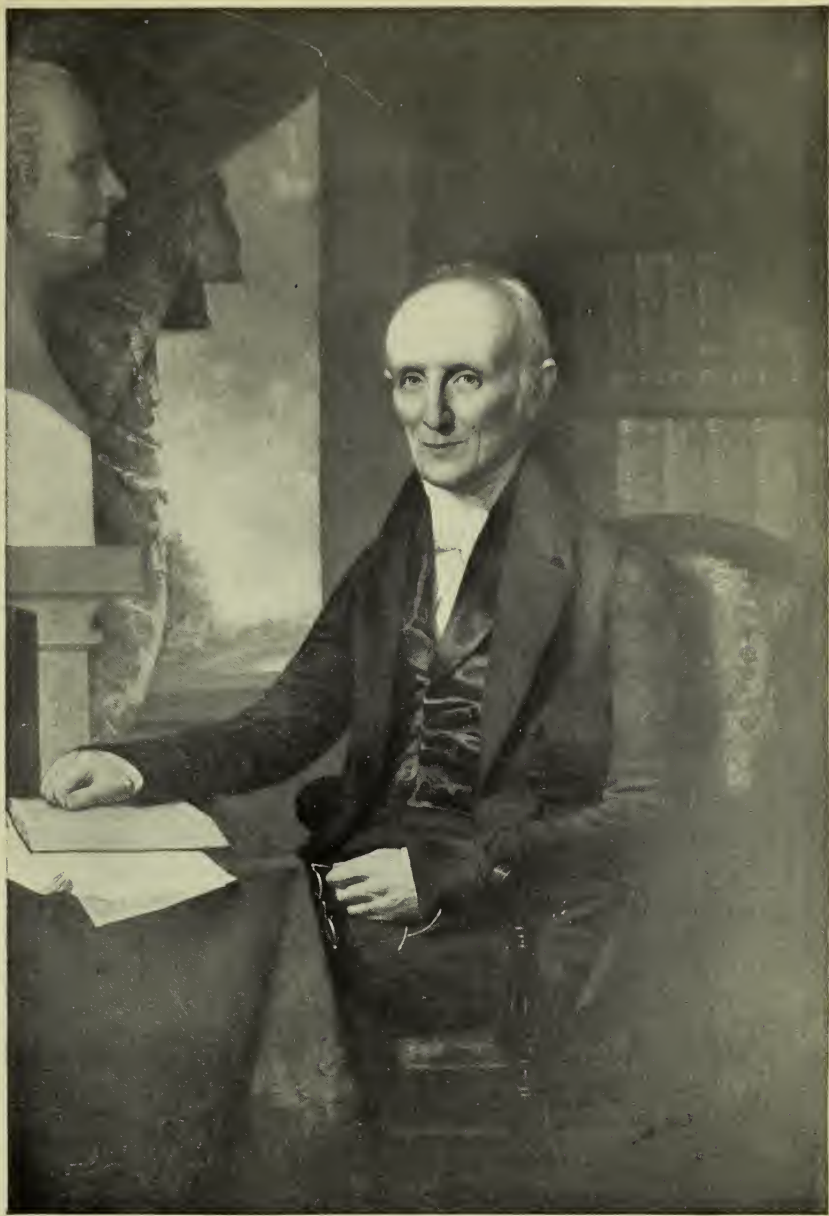
While the men of Boston were busily engaged collecting pelts, the mariners of Salem were founding fortunes in the pepper trade. The first to discover pepper growing wild near Benkulen on the northwest coast of Sumatra was Captain Jonathan Carnes, who hurried home to report his find. He was immediately sent out on the fast schooner, the *Rajah*, one hundred and thirty tons, and his destination kept secret. When he returned with a shipload of the pungent spice the owners realized a profit of seven hundred per cent! Such a secret could not be kept long, however (although Carnes did manage to make three voyages before the news leaked out), and soon Salem ships were navigating the then uncharted, dangerous coral reefs as easily as they sailed the coast of New England and the name of Salem was synonymous with daring and enterprise. Her ships bartered at Batavia and Java for sugar and rice, at Manila for hemp and indigo, at Mocha for coffee, at the Spice Islands for cinnamon and clove and nutmeg, at Zanzibar for gum-copal, and Madeira for wine.

The hazards of navigation were not the only perils Salem men encountered; those they were able to master, but they could not always defend themselves against sudden, ruthless native attacks and many a young man was buried on the other side of the world with a kris in his ribs. In 1831 the natives of Quallah-Battoo captured the *Friendship*, killed the first mate and wounded several seamen. Captain Endicott, who was ashore at the time of the capture, but who saw what had happened, hastily made for Muckie in a small boat to enlist the aid of three American vessels there. The *Friendship* was

recaptured, set sail and returned to Salem. A year later the United States frigate *Potomac* bombarded Quallah-Battoo as punishment.

At the height of Salem's glory one of her sons added further to her prestige: Nathaniel Bowditch produced the *Practical Navigator*, a work that made American ships the fastest ever to sail. It was a book that no one could overlook, not even the British who were prone to disregard American publications, and there was not an American sailor who did not profit from its instructions. Amasa Delano, sailing on the *Massachusetts*, had complained about loss of time because the reckoning was out. The *Practical Navigator* saved time, but more important added considerably to the safety of human lives at sea. Bowditch knew his astronomy so well that on a homeward voyage he sailed straight into Salem harbor and docked his ship without mishap while a snowstorm raged and not a landmark was in sight!

Of Salem's merchant princes the most eminent was Elias Hasket Derby, whose fleet was known the world over. He was the second son of Richard Derby, an ardent patriot who gave money, guns and ships to the Continental government, and his brother John took the first news of Concord and Lexington to England and eight years later brought back the word that peace had been declared. Elias started his career at an early age in his father's counting rooms. In 1784 he sent one of his ships, the *Grand Turk*, Captain Ingersoll in command, to the Cape of Good Hope to exchange rum, cheese, salt and butter for Bohea tea, but Captain Ingersoll was not able to buy the tea because ships bound for Europe were forbidden to break bulk at the Cape. In order to make up his cargo he sailed for the coast of Guinea to pick up ivory and gold dust, but would not consider taking on board a single slave. Derby, he told Samuel Shaw, who was homeward bound from Canton, would rather sink the whole capital employed than directly or indirectly be concerned in so infamous a traffic. A year later the *Grand Turk* appeared in Canton and Derby's ships were the first to be seen from the United States in Bombay, Siam and Mocha.



NATHANIEL BOWDITCH

1773 - 1838

Mathematician and Navigator

From a portrait by Charles Osgood in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem

The *Grand Turk* was the first New England vessel to compete in the China trade. When she appeared off Naugus Head homeward-bound from Canton, a salute was fired in her honor and most of the population of Salem put out in skiffs and rowboats to meet her and welcome her home. Later they listened spellbound to the crew's stories of fantastic Chinese manners and customs, and were curious about firecrackers, a novelty from the Orient. The *Grand Turk* was sold at great profit in the Isle de France.

The first of two principles which Derby applied to his business was to employ only the most reliable young men for his crews and to allow them an interest in the voyage. The second was to keep his smaller vessels sailing the Atlantic coast while his larger ships were in China. Or he might even send them to Europe if the price of a commodity happened to be low in this country.

As a merchant Derby was far-seeing and industrious, as a citizen public-spirited and generous. The Derby mansion, which cost \$80,000 to construct, was one of the most superb houses of Salem. Three stories high it was topped with a cupola, much as was his son's house, where a deep notch cut in the window allowed an open view of the sea through a spy-glass and the domed ceiling was decorated with a Cornè fresco showing the Derby fleet. He died leaving over a million dollars, a tremendous fortune in those days.

Two other prominent merchants were William Gray and Joseph Peabody. The former started in Derby's counting house and in time became one of the big ship owners and the latter built and owned eighty-three vessels. They made thirty-eight voyages to Calcutta, seventeen to Canton, thirty-two to Sumatra, and seventy-seven to Europe. Peabody employed over seven thousand seamen, who, with other Salem sailors, brought home exotic tales of remote islands, the basis for the romantic lore of the South Seas. In 1825 and 1826 the *Leander* paid on two voyages as duties the enormous sums of \$86, 874 and \$92, 392 on China cargoes. It was the energy of these men

and the others like them that made the name of Salem familiar to the world.

In August of 1783 Joseph Felt wrote, quoting the *Gazette*, that a deep interest was felt in Salem at the prospect of extending her foreign trade, "We have at an earlier period than the most sanguine Whig could have expected or even hoped, or the most inveterate Tory feared, every pleasing prospect of a very extensive commerce with the most distant parts of the Globe." But the War of 1812 tolled the knell of Salem's brilliancy and her prosperity as a seaport came to an end in 1845. Four years later Nathaniel Hawthorne, then surveyor of the port, in his introduction to the *Scarlet Letter* described the once bustling wharf as dilapidated and languid, and the Custom House, but a short time ago the resort of activity and business, shoddy with grass growing through its chinks. A few ancient seamen loitered the streets where in the halcyon days the sea-flushed ship-master, the vessel's papers in a cylindrical tin under his arm, made straight for the Customs, even before receiving his wife's welcome home.

As Salem's prosperity dwindled — *Divitis Indiae usque ad ultimum sinum* — the motto on her city seal stood for little more than tradition, but if Salem lapsed into a coma in which she remembered only fitfully the great days, other Atlantic seaports were changing from market towns to centers of world commerce. The picturesque waterfronts of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore were lined with handsome East Indiamen whose houseflags, familiar in two hemispheres, fluttered gaily in the breeze. The best residential sections ran parallel to the waterfronts whence it was an easy step for the dignified and elegant merchants, attended, perhaps, by servants or slaves, to walk out each morning and scan the horizon for expected homecoming vessels. When a ship arrived, owner and captain made off for the counting rooms for a consultation on the probable profits. When the work of unloading was finished blue-jacketed sailors, trim for shore leave and several months' pay to the good, swaggered the streets and turned bragadoccio under the admiring glances of gaping girls.

There were few boys in the port towns who could resist the call of the sea and at the age of thirteen or fourteen they took their hereditary places before the mast, following in the steps of their fathers and grandfathers. But the sea was only a means to an end; every lad of ambition looked forward to the time when he would have ships of his own after serving an apprenticeship on the forecastle and in the cabin, as mate and as captain. The merchant was a respected figure in the community; he was influential in politics, the arbiter in the social life of the place and the person to whom those in want turned, and he took his responsibilities seriously. The fortunes so shrewdly amassed went not solely to family aggrandisement but also to civic improvement, to the endowment of benevolent institutions for those less fortunate — orphanages, hospitals and homes. When Lafayette visited Boston he asked, "Where are your poor?"

New Englanders were by nature cautious in money matters but the wealth which flowed into their pockets could not but exert a change in their mode of living. That, and the fact that most of them had seen the far corners of the earth, had a mellowing influence. They did not become sybarites but gradually they learned the art of gracious living. They sipped appreciatively the Madeira their ships had carried round the world; they commissioned Bulfinch and McIntire to build their houses, Copley and Gilbert Stuart to paint their portraits and their ship carvers executed interior woodwork with delicacy and refinement of design. Peculiar to New England were the twisted balusters and newel posts in imitation of rope form enhancing the grace and elegance of the stairways which no other artisans other than ship carvers could have so successfully executed. It was the merchants in the China trade who fostered the culture of the next generations and who were the link between the Puritans of the eighteenth century and the Intellectuals of the nineteenth century.

V.

It was to the advantage of everyone that trade in Canton should continue without interruption, but it was inevitable that incidents should occur to make this impossible and when misunderstandings or quarrels broke out either between foreigners or foreigners and Chinese, business was at once suspended. Illustrative of this and of Chinese jurisdiction is the case of a gunner on the British ship *Lady Hughes*.

About the time the *Empress of China* arrived in Canton Mr. Smith, the supercargo of the *Lady Hughes*, entertained the captain and some friends from the factories on board ship. As the guests were leaving a salute was fired and one of the shots killed a Chinese on a mandarin's boat. According to Chinese law an eye must be given for an eye, a tooth for a tooth and a life for a life, although it was not necessarily the guilty person who was made to suffer punishment, for as long as someone paid the penalty the Chinese felt satisfied justice had been obtained. The English chief, knowing the affair had been an accident and the gunner innocent, refused to hand over the unfortunate man to the Chinese for trial. Fresh in everyone's mind was an incident of four years before when a Frenchman had killed a Portuguese sailor in self defense. He had acted only to save his own life and this the Chinese understood very well, but insisted on holding him for examination, and although a promise was given he would not be hurt, he was later found strangled by the waterside.

The gunner, unwilling to undergo similar punishment, took to his heels and disappeared from view and after two days' debate the Chinese told the British chief they were satisfied nothing further could be done. Everyone was greatly relieved thinking the affair had come to an end, but far from being ended it had only begun. Pwan-keiqua, under duress from the civil authorities, resorted to the ruse of sending for Mr. Smith to come to his house for a business discussion. No sooner had the supercargo arrived than he was seized by guards and taken a prisoner

to the city. As soon as this became known all trade was stopped, the Chinese merchants retired within the city walls and the foreigners assembled to decide what course they should pursue. They determined to make it a common cause and ordered armed boats to proceed from Whampoa to the factories for protection. The boats were fired on by the Emperor's junks in passage but only one man was wounded. In the meantime the servants and compradores had fled so only foreigners were left in the factories which were threatened by forty war junks drawn up on the opposite side of the river. A letter was dispatched to the co-hong declaring Mr. Smith's innocence in the affair and the impossibility of finding the gunner to which a reply was received the next morning stating Mr. Smith would be released when the gunner was turned over to the officials and that orders had been given for the whole force of the province to stand in readiness to attack in case of resistance.

Although the Europeans had agreed to act in unison, the Danes, French and Dutch would not go so far as to have their commerce imperilled and when they saw the determined attitude of the authorities ordered their boats back to Whampoa. The French consul urged Major Shaw to order away the American boat, but Shaw replied he considered "the rights of humanity deeply interested in the present business" and would not dispatch the boat until the purposes for which it had been required were answered.

On the second evening more messengers arrived with word that Mr. Smith was being held only for questioning and with the request that all the foreigners except the British would come the next day to meet the Fuen. The meeting place was a pagoda, the entrance was lined with ranks of soldiers armed with scimitars through which mandarins of war escorted the supercargoes to the Fuen. The foreign spokesman stated that the case was considered as affecting not only the British but every nationality and that no person of property could longer be considered secure. He added it was impossible to find the gunner, to which the Fuen replied, "No matter, he must

be produced." Tea was then served, each representative presented with a scarlet scroll and the interview thus being ended according to protocol the foreigners were escorted back to their factories.

In the meantime the British had sent five boats to Whampoa to search for the missing gunner who was eventually found and turned over to the authorities. Mr. Smith was at once released and the restrictions on trade removed. Four weeks later the *Empress of China* sailed for home and six weeks later the unhappy gunner was strangled by direct order of the Emperor. He was allowed a trial, although it was completely unintelligible to him, which made the execution seem the more unjust, for according to Chinese law he could have ransomed himself for about twenty dollars. As a result of the accident on the *Lady Hughes* the custom of saluting while in the river was entirely abolished.

There were other cases of homicide. In 1807 a party of drunken sailors put some natives to flight killing one of them. Trade was immediately stopped and the security merchant of the ship held responsible for turning over the guilty man. In 1820 the body of a member of a ship's crew who committed suicide was given to the authorities as having been the person who killed a Chinese. In 1821 an American seaman, Francis Terranova, from the *Emily* of Baltimore, was accused of causing the death of a boatwoman, who had come to trade with the sailors, by dropping a bottle on her head. Although no American believed the man should be punished he was found guilty by the Chinese officials who tried him on board ship. The ship's guarantor was arrested and trade stopped until Terranova was handed over. A few days later he was strangled. The American merchants at Canton drew up a statement of the case which was given to Houqua to present to the Viceroy. In it was stated, "We are bound to submit to your laws while we are in your waters; be they ever so unjust we will not resist them." The American government took no notice of the affair whatsoever, either to investigate or remonstrate, nor could the consul, without backing from home and not recognized as an official

by the Chinese, offer any protestation. The provincial officials held a powerful weapon — merely by stopping trade they forced the foreigners to conform to the archaic laws of the Empire.

It was a series of incidents such as the above, quite aside from any question of opium, which finally decided the British Parliament to send troops to China to protect their nationals, an action which has passed into history with the lamentable epithet of the "Opium War."

In their laws the Chinese made no discrimination against the foreigners; natives, too, suffered the same punishments, but the cases cited illustrate the insecure position held by Europeans and Americans in Canton. Without the assistance of interpreters and with no knowledge of Chinese jurisdiction they were forced to submit to trials of which they could not understand a word.

Anxious to put trade relations on a more favorable footing, the British government sent two missions to Peking, the first in 1794 under Earl Macartney and the second in 1816 under Lord Amherst. Lord Amherst and his suite were never received owing to the fact they refused to perform the kowtow. Of the Macartney mission little is known regarding its impression on the Chinese, although judging from the "mandate" sent by Ch'ien to George III, quoted in part earlier in this article, it would seem the Son of Heaven regarded it as one of the most splendid tribute bearing embassies ever sent by a vassal state to acknowledge humble obeisance to the great Emperor!

From the time the first American ships sailed up the Pearl River until the beginning of the Opium War, there were few changes in foreign relations at Canton. As the American-East India trade became established the services of supercargoes were gradually replaced by firms and commission houses. The first American firm in China, that of Shaw and Randall, was short lived due to the death of Major Shaw, who succumbed to a complaint of the liver in his fortieth year on a voyage home. His untimely death was a great loss to the country he served so well, both in war and in peace, and which he represented abroad with such dignity and distinction.

In 1803 the firm of Perkins and Co., a branch of T. and J. H. Perkins of Boston, was founded. Other well-known firms were Olyphant and Co., Russell and Co., Bryant and Sturgis, and the houses of Heard and Wetmore. Eventually Perkins and Co., James P. Sturgis and Co., Russell, Sturgis and Co., and Russell and Sturgis of Manila were amalgamated into the one firm of Russell and Co. which became the most important American concern in Canton. The success of the house was due largely to the friendship and influence of Houqua and to their relations with Baring Brothers of London. When the Honorable East India Company's long monopoly at Canton came to an end Houqua withdrew from general business and devoted his energies exclusively to Russell and Co. Through them his foreign affairs were managed, and on their ships were sent the celebrated Chops of Congou which were grown on his family estates in Woo-E and were well known and enjoyed in Europe and America.

Two young men to make fortunes in the employ of Russell and Co. were John Perkins Cushing and his cousin, Robert Bennet Forbes, nephews of the founders. Owing to the illness of the chief, the affairs of the Canton firm fell into Cushing's hands when he was only sixteen, but he seemed to have such a thorough grasp of the business in spite of his youth that his uncles took him into partnership. He stayed in China for thirty years, became an intimate friend of the great Houqua and was trusted and admired by both Chinese and foreigners alike. He returned to Boston a wealthy man, but he could not altogether disassociate himself from the East for he surrounded his house and gardens with a high wall, like the houses of the rich in China, and was waited on by a retinue of Chinese servants who, although in a western land, clung to their native garb. His house was filled with oriental art and bibelots.

Robert Forbes went to sea at the age of thirteen. In his *Reminiscences* he wrote, "Beginning in 1817, with a capital consisting of a Testament, a 'Bowditch', a quadrant, a chest of sea clothes, and a mother's blessing, I left the paternal mansion full of hope and good resolu-



ELIAS HASKET DERBY

1739 - 1799

Merchant of Salem

From a portrait by James Frothingham in possession of the Peabody Museum

tions, and the promise of support from my uncles. At the age of sixteen I filled a man's place as third mate; at the age of twenty I was promoted to a command; at the age of twenty-six I commanded my own ship; at twenty-eight I abandoned the sea as a profession; at thirty-six I was head of the largest American house at Canton." Forbes' buoyant personality, his charm and frankness all made it easy for him to take Cushing's place in Canton as the number one American taipan.

In the second decade of the nineteenth century two extraordinary occurrences took place, both almost unprecedented in the annals of foreign trade at Canton. The first was a robbery by one of the compradores in the American factory who used company funds for his own speculation. He had been recommended by Houqua and therefore the American chief reported the loss of the money to that merchant. The compradore was sent for and confessed to having taken \$50,000 which he intended to replace but was detected before he had the chance. Houqua at once covered the deficiency.

The second strange event was the arrival at the factories of several English and American ladies in direct defiance of regulations. This thoroughly embarrassed the members of the co-hong who were at their wits' end with such an unheard of thing and ordered the ladies to leave at once else the Son of Heaven "so considerate for all beyond the seas would withdraw his compassion." To the great relief of the cohong the ladies decided to depart after a few days and were escorted to their boat by the gentlemen of the factories. For this occasion coats which had been stored in camphor ten or fifteen years, old-fashioned cravats and dingy white gloves suddenly came to light, although one or two inveterate bachelors complained at such useless fuss and bother.

Because of trade, American interest in China was constantly increasing. By the turn of the century the Church exhibited an awakening interest in this new field, although the propagation of Christianity was still a dangerous affair and was not permitted within the borders of the Empire. Furthermore, the British East India Company,

unwilling to have anything interfere with trade, discountenanced the idea of Englishmen coming to Canton to spread the Gospel. Nevertheless, the first Protestant missionary was an Englishman, Dr. Robert Morrison, who arrived in Canton in 1807 by way of New York, having been refused passage on a company ship. The Secretary of State, Mr. Madison, gave him a letter to Consul Carrington requesting any assistance possible and for awhile Dr. Morrison lived at the American factory with Messrs. Milner and Bull of New York. After a time he made the acquaintance of Sir George Staunton and Mr. Roberts of the British factory and in 1808 was forced to flee with them and other of his compatriots to Macao. In that year the British, afraid of an attack on the island, landed troops to aid the Portuguese. The Chinese, infuriated with interference in their own territory, at once stopped trade with the British and refused to supply their ships at Whampoa. When the British troops withdrew from Macao and returned to India, trade was resumed.

Doctor Morrison became translator for the East India Company and his association with that powerful organization undoubtedly gave him a footing in China he would not otherwise have had. In 1814 a Chinese edition of the New Testament appeared, a large part of it Morrison's work.

American Protestants were eager to follow the example of British churches and in 1830 the Reverend David Abeel and the Reverend Elijah Bridgman arrived in Canton. They were given free passage and a year's residence by D. W. C. Olyphant of the firm of Olyphant and Co. Because of the stringency of Chinese laws regarding the diffusion of Christianity work was confined mostly to language study and translation. Missions were started in Malacca, Singapore, Peneng, Borneo and Batavia to afford Americans and Europeans the opportunity of learning Chinese from emigrés living in those places and whatever was done in Canton was done as quietly as possible. The Reverend Bridgman, backed by Olyphant, who guaranteed expenses, started a periodical called the *Chinese Repository* for the dissemination of knowledge con-

cerning the history, laws, culture and customs of the Chinese.

The interest of the Church, the reports of the merchants and the fact that the United States was now an established nation and Americans could turn their thoughts outwards rather than toward any immediate problem of their own, all were contributing factors to the growing interest in China. She was regarded with respect, with envy even, and Jefferson extolled her non-intercourse with other nations as ideal. It was the fashion of the day to drink fragrant Chinese tea, to dine from delicate willow pattern ware and to enjoy the other luxuries which came from this country of ancient civilization.

At the beginning of the Opium War, American sympathy was all with the Chinese and cartoons even went so far as to present the picture of Englishmen forcing the drug down powerless natives' throats at sword's point. It was John Quincy Adams who startled Americans by advancing the theory that the cause of the war was not opium, but "the kowtow — the arrogant and the insupportable pretensions of China." The seizure of opium, he said, was a mere incident to the dispute and had no more to do with the war than the Boston Tea Party had to do with the American Revolution. Gradually the picture changed, people no longer thought of unwilling Chinese being forcibly drugged, and with China's complete collapse before British arms the impression spread that she was a nation falling into decay. It was not to China's discredit, however, that she was inferior in military strategy, a calling long despised by the sages, nor did her surrender mean her civilization had come to an end. The war was inevitable and it was fought because China for years had blandly ignored her true position in relation to the nations of the West; for centuries conqueror, ruler, despot of the East she refused to acknowledge equality in any quarter of the globe.

That was the underlying cause of the dispute. What brought it to a head was that neither foreigners nor Chinese at Canton took seriously the Imperial edicts from the Court at Peking.

From time to time viceroys and magistrates deemed it their duty to issue proclamations, "but," wrote W. C. Hunter, "we disregarded local orders as well as those from Peking and really became confident that we should enjoy perpetual immunity as far as the opium trade was concerned."

The drug arrived in British bottoms from India, in American bottoms from Turkey, store ships lay outside Cap-Sing-Moon and Lintin and not only "smug-boats," but even mandarin boats sent out to put an end to the smuggling, ran the drug into Canton. In 1826 Forbes commanded a ship up the coast having on board a cargo of opium but was forced to return to Canton before contacting merchants, much against the wishes of the rest of the party who had expected to make an immense profit. W. C. Hunter sailed to Namao on another Russell vessel and has left the following description of how opium was sold along the coast:

Knowing the formalities to be gone through with the mandarins we expected a visit from one and until it was made no Chinese boat would come alongside, nor would a junk, not even a bumboat. We had no sooner furled sails and made everything shipshape when his 'Excellency' appeared in his gig, a sort of scow as broad as she was long. Besides the oarsmen there were official and personal attendants, in grass cloth with conical rattan hats and flowing red silk cords surrounding them to the brim. He himself sat majestically in an arm chair smoking quietly. A large embroidered silk umbrella was held over his head, while servants with fans protected him from the attack of mosquitoes and flies. He was received at the gangway by Captain Forster. His manner and bearing were easy and dignified. When cheroots and a glass of wine had been offered, the 'commodore' inquired the cause of our anchoring at Namao. The shroff gave him to understand that the vessel being on her way from Singapore to Canton had been compelled, through contrary winds and currents, to replenish her wood and water. Having listened attentively the great man said that any supplies might be obtained, but when they were on board not a moment was to be lost in sailing for Whampoa, as the great Emperor did not permit vessels from afar to visit any other

port. He then gravely pulled from his boot a red document and handed it to his secretary.

The document stated that the Son of Heaven in all his mercy could not deny succor to those who were in want of food.

This formality being over with, continued Hunter, and wine drunk, we proceeded to business. The mandarin opened by the direct question, 'How many chests have you on board?' . . . And then came the question of cumsha and that was settled on the good old Chinese principle of 'allee same custom.' . . . Chinese buyers came on board freely the moment they saw the official visit had been paid.

For years British merchants had been petitioning their government to grant them the privilege of free trade so that they might compete with Americans. At length the ban was lifted and the British East India Company dissolved in 1834. In the same year Lord Napier, a former officer in the Navy who had served under Nelson, arrived in Canton to assume the office of Government Superintendent of Trade and as such was a representative of the Crown. The British considered the change of some importance, but to the Chinese, Napier was simply another merchant or "headman" and the officials refused to receive him except through the ordinary channels — i.e. a letter in the form of a respectful petition presented through the co-hong — because to do so would be to acknowledge England the equal of China. Lord Napier refused to deal through the co-hong, or, as he was ordered to do by the Chinese, to withdraw from Canton. In this dilemma affairs came to a deadlock and, as always, trade was stopped. Weeks passed, nothing was accomplished and finally Lord Napier decided to leave for Macao. He was not in good health at the time and the strain of his mission was too much for him. He died shortly after his arrival at the island.

In the meantime the opium trade was flourishing and the provincial authorities were making no real effort to stop it, although the Court at Peking was sincere in its desire to curb importation. The unhappy Emperor lamented, "How can I die and meet the spirits of my

Imperial ancestors unless these direful evils are removed?"

The burning question was whether or not to legalize the traffic, a question of great import to both Chinese and foreigners. Memorials were sent to the Emperor on the subject but in the end he determined to make an even more strenuous effort to suppress the trade. Unfortunate smokers were subjected to torture as an example, yet the son of the governor of Canton was engaged in the commerce!

In 1839 the government, alarmed not only by the noxious effect on the people, but seriously concerned at the amount of specie going out of the country, determined to put an end to opium smuggling. Lin Tse-hsü was ordered by the Emperor to proceed to Canton and to adopt any measures he saw fit to stop the scourge. Robert Forbes said, "He struck directly at the head and front of the offending. Without any warning in advance Lin made his appearance on the 10th of March and on the 19th he issued a proclamation demanding of the foreign community the instant delivery of every chest of opium within the waters of China! The hong merchants through whom all legitimate trade was conducted were threatened with death if the Imperial mandate was not immediately obeyed."

This swift and direct action, so unlike the usual tortuous Chinese methods, came indeed as a surprise, while Lin, further to emphasize his demands, threw a cordon of armed boats across the water front. He denied permission to any foreigners to leave the city and ordered all servants, compradores and coolies to quit their foreign employers. The merchants were virtual prisoners in their own factories.

At this critical moment Captain Elliot, British Superintendent of Trade, arrived from Macao and called on all his countrymen, in the name of her Majesty the Queen, to surrender whatever opium they might have. Twenty thousand, two hundred and eighty-three chests were handed over, amounting in value to nearly nine million dollars. Despite the doubt of some, that after the drug was seized trade would be legalized, every bit of it was destroyed

by emptying it into trenches of water which were afterwards directed into the river. One poor wretch was decapitated for trying to salvage an infinitesimal amount.

In spite of the seriousness of the situation, it was not without its lighter side. Chinese government officials sent presents of pigs, fowl, and sheep to the factories so there was no food shortage, but as the servants had been ordered to leave the foreigners were compelled to take care of themselves.

"In the American hong," wrote Robert Forbes, "lived Mr. W. P. Snow, United States consul, Russell and Co., Russell, Sturgis and Co., and others. I was called upon to organize the house for work; lots were drawn to see who should cook, and who should play the part of waiters, chambermen, etc. It fell upon me to be the chief cook. The first thing to be done was to clean out the kitchen, into which no white man had before entered; all hands went at it, and soon made things fit for my new work. My first effort was fried ham and eggs; when the dish came to the table it was difficult to distinguish between the eggs and the ham; all bore the color and partook of the consistency of dirty sole leather. It was immediately voted to depose me, and to put Warren Delano in my place, and I assumed his duties, which were to look after the glass and silver; to this end I put upon the sideboard a piece of sheeting, and when I required towels I had only to tear off a strip, wipe my utensils, and throw the strip into the corner. . . . Bathing was important, and no coolie at hand to carry water to the upper rooms, we rigged whips and attempted to hoist the big pails into the verandahs; but this proved a failure, the ropes twisted up, and the pails remained suspended in mid-air. The venerable consul mourned much over this state of durance vile, and lamented his hard fate. One morning I met him on the stairs, intent on some household errand, when he opened his heart to me in this wise: 'Is it not too bad, Mr. Forbes, that a public official at my time of life, not owning a pound of opium, should be imprisoned, and compelled to do chambermaid's work?' "

The chauvinist Lin, not content with having destroyed

the opium and still firm in the belief that he held the foreigners in the hollow of his hand through the simple expedient of stopping trade, — like all Chinese he was convinced the “outer barbarians” would suffer any indignity rather than lose their profits in teas and silks, — took it upon himself to rebuke Queen Victoria for the conduct of her subjects:

You savages of the farther seas have waxed so bold, it seems, as to defy and insult our mighty Empire. Of a truth it is high time to ‘flay the face and cleanse the heart’ and to amend your ways. If you submit humbly to the Celestial dynasty and tender your allegiance, it may give you a chance to purge yourselves of your past sins. But if you persist and continue in your path of obstinate delusion, your three islands will be laid waste and your people pounded into mincemeat, so soon as the armies of his Divine Majesty set foot upon your shores.¹

After the confiscation and the destruction of the opium the British to a man deserted the factories for Macao. Captain Elliot begged the Americans to follow him.

“If your house goes all will go,” he said to Forbes, “and we shall bring these rascally Chinese to terms.”

Forbes replied he had not come to China for his health or his pleasure, that the Yankees had no Queen to guarantee their losses and that he should remain at his post as long as he could sell a yard of goods or buy a pound of tea.

Lin was nonplussed at the action of the British but he was sure that sooner or later they would return to Canton for their cargoes. Nor, it seemed did his stringent measures prevent smuggling; although the large houses had signed bonds never again to import opium, the small merchants were not too scrupulous to seize this opportunity for enormous profit. The destruction of all the opium in Canton had increased its value immeasurably! The situation may be compared to our own during the era of prohibition, but, where the United States was prepared to back up the law with a powerful coast guard, the Chinese dealt in futile threats and empty words.

¹ “Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking,” E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland.

The British were forced from Macao to the island of Hongkong where skirmishing took place between their vessels and the Chinese. In those days means of communication were slow but everyone knew that sooner or later England would seek redress for the imprisonment of her nationals during the opium confiscation. Even the Chinese seemed to feel that some reprisal would be made — they were not ignorant of the continual and rapid conquests made by the British all over India — and began to muster their troops and repair their forts.

The great problem was to remove British goods piled up in their factories to British ships before hostilities actually commenced. The Yankees were not slow to seize this chance. Freights skyrocketed, five to seven dollars a bale on teas and silks for the ninety-mile trip was more than was paid for freight from China to America! All available craft were pressed into service, were loaded to overflowing, and when Captain Elliot later met Forbes at Macao he said to him, "My dear Forbes, the Queen owes you many thanks for not taking my advice as to leaving Canton. We have got in all our goods and got out a full supply of teas and silks. . . . Now the season is over and a large force at hand we can bring the Chinese to terms."

Fifteen months after Commissioner Lin seized all the foreign owned opium in Canton, British troops arrived in China. That there could be but one result was obvious to everyone except his Imperial Majesty and his sycophants who still clung to their belief in the omnipotence of the Celestial Empire. That the Chinese warriors were brave was proved but China, convinced of her own superiority for centuries, suddenly discovered that the matchlocks, bows and arrows of her infantry were of small avail against a relatively small, but well-equipped and well-trained body of English soldiers. The grand armies of the Son of Heaven, as in Alice's dream, turned out to be as harmless as a deck of cards! .

The Emperor was finally prevailed upon to appoint three commissioners to settle the terms of peace. The three men were Ilipu, Niu Kien and Kiyeng who met

Sir Henry Pottinger, the British Plenipotentiary, at Nanking in August, 1842. The Treaty of Nanking stipulated that the ports of Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo and Shanghai be opened to trade and to residence; that the island of Hongkong be ceded for the purpose of careening ships; that British nationals were no longer under Chinese jurisdiction; and that six million dollars be paid for the opium destroyed; three million to merchants on account of debts; and twelve million to the British Government for expenses incurred in the war. The Imperial Commissioners, to soothe the wounded vanity of the Son of Heaven, memorialized him explaining that this sum of twenty-one million dollars was to be paid partly because of debts incurred by the co-hong and partly as a present to the British soldiers and sailors before sending them home.

The Treaty of Nanking also provided for the abolition of all monopolies and thus came to an end the duties of that honorable body of merchants, the co-hong.

VI.

The next negotiation entered into between China and a foreign power was the Treaty of Wanghia, drawn up in 1844 by the Honorable Caleb Cushing, Massachusetts lawyer and Envoy Extraordinary of the United States, and Kiyeng, Imperial Commissioner, Governor General of the two Kwang Provinces, Vice Guardian of the Heir Apparent and Superintendent of trade and foreign intercourse of the Five Ports.

During the Opium War Boston and Salem merchants had asked Congress for naval protection from pirates in China waters and had received it in the East India Squadron under the command of Commodore Kearny, who arrived at Canton with the *Constellation* and the *Boston* in 1842. Diplomat as well as officer, Kearny maintained friendly relations with both the English and the Chinese and wrote home to urge that a mission be sent out to arrange a treaty guaranteeing Americans equal privileges with the British.

American merchants in China were quite willing to

continue business without any formal agreement between the two countries, but at home public opinion had been aroused and much was made of the fact that, although England had opened up the Celestial Empire, there was no reason to suppose other nations would be allowed entrance in the treaty ports. If America were to continue her trade on a par with the British it was essential she make her own arrangements. The State Department sent out a circular letter asking for suggestions from those familiar with China and from some Boston merchants came the following advice:

The Chinese want no political intercourse with foreign nations, and they will only permit through fear of armed compulsion, or through a politic desire to offer us *voluntarily* what has been *forced* on them by others. . . . If our envoy does not see his way clear to succeed let him do nothing. . . . We repeat our firm conviction that he can only do mischief by attempting to gain any point by negotiation which the Chinese are not ready to grant.

The merchants wanted a treaty only if it would not antagonize the Chinese and thus nullify the privileges they already enjoyed!

Edward Everett, then Minister to London, was approached on the subject of heading the mission, but declined the nomination which was finally offered to Caleb Cushing. Cushing was a friend of both President Tyler and Daniel Webster. It is true that he was often ridiculed for his mannerisms and peculiarity of dress but his legal training and his shrewd New England mind were a match for any wily Oriental and the treaty which he was able to draw up served as a model for all treaties for many years. Before he sailed he attended a dinner in Faneuil Hall, in company with President Tyler and Daniel Webster, and in a speech said, "I have been entrusted with a commission of peace and with the duty of bringing nearer together, if possible, the civilization of the old and new worlds. . . . For though of old, it was from the East that civilization and learning dawned upon the world, yet now, by the reflux tide of letters, knowledge is being rolled back from West to East, and we have

become the teachers of our teachers. I go to China . . . that, if possible, the doors of three hundred millions of Asiatic laborers may be opened to America."

Although there was opposition in Congress to the mission because of the expense such an undertaking would involve, a salary was voted Cushing and an appropriation made for outfitting the embassy. Four battleships were ordered as escort — the new frigate *Missouri*, pride of the Navy, the frigate *Brandywine*, the sloop-of-war *St. Louis*, and the brig *Perry*. Cushing, having ordered the uniform of a major-general, "a blue coat with gilt buttons, embroidered, a white satin vest, white pantaloons with a gold stripe down the seam and a chapeau with white plumes," set forth on his journey accompanied by Fletcher Webster as secretary, Elisha Kane, surgeon, and five voluntary attachés serving without pay for the experience.

The magnificent uniform was destined never to be worn, for at Gibraltar the *Missouri* burst into flames and although Cushing, who was on shore, rushed to the burning vessel he was able to save only the official papers. After this disaster he decided to go overland to Suez and from there to Bombay where the rest of his mission met him.

Cushing's instructions from the State Department were to make the Chinese understand, first of all, that the intentions of the embassy were entirely peaceful and simply to insure friendly intercourse between the two nations; that the Americans were not seeking territorial possessions or concessions, but only the privilege already granted the British of trading at Amoy, Ningpo, Foochow and Shanghai as well as Canton. Secondly he was to proceed to Peking if possible and request an audience with the Emperor. If this were granted he was not to perform the kowtow under any circumstances whatsoever, nor were any presents to be given lest they be misconstrued as tribute offerings. The Emperor was to be treated with the same deference any European sovereign would receive from an American Ambassador.

Apparently the reason for wanting Cushing to go to Peking was that he might present in person to the Son of

Heaven a letter from the President. The authorship of the letter has been attributed to Daniel Webster, though he had resigned as Secretary of State, but it seems more probable that it was drafted by some clerk who ignorantly placed Chinese in the same category with savages and Indians. That the letter was sent at all seems curious; it was scarcely fit for the President to address the omnipotent ruler of ancient Cathay in such singular language as follows:

LETTER TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA FROM THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA.

I, John Tyler, President of the United States of America which states are: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan, send you this letter of peace and friendship signed by my own hand.

I hope your health is good. China is a great Empire extending over a great part of the world. The Chinese are numerous. You have millions and millions of subjects. The twenty- six United States are as large as China, though our people are not so numerous. The rising sun looks upon the great rivers and great mountains of China. When he sets he looks upon rivers and mountains equally large in the United States. Our territories extend from one great ocean to the other; and on the west we are divided from your dominions only by the sea. Leaving the mouth of one of our great rivers, and going constantly toward the setting sun, we sail to Japan and the Yellow Sea.

Now, my words are that the governments of two such great countries should be at peace. It is proper and according to the will of Heaven, that they should respect each other, and act wisely. I therefore send to your court Count Caleb Cushing, one of the wise and learned men of this country. On his first arrival in China he will inquire for your health. He has strict orders to go to your great city of Peking, and there to deliver this letter. He will have with him secretaries and interpreters.

The Chinese love to trade with our people and sell them

tea and silk, for which our people pay silver and sometimes other articles. But if the Chinese and Americans will trade, there shall be rules, so that they shall not break your laws or our laws. Our Minister, Caleb Cushing, is authorized to make a treaty to regulate trade. Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side. Let the people trade not only at Canton, but also at Amoy, Ningpo, Shanghai and Fuchow, and all such other places as may offer profitable exchanges both to China and the United States, provided they do not break your laws. Therefore, we doubt not you will be pleased our messenger of peace, with this letter in his hand, shall come to Peking and there deliver it; and that your great officers will, by your orders, make a treaty with him to regulate the affairs of trade — so that nothing may happen to disturb the peace between China and America. Let the treaty be signed by your own Imperial hand. It shall be signed by mine, by the authority of our great council, the Senate.

And so may your health be good and peace reign.

Written at Washington this twelfth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three. Your good friend.

(Many years later E. T. Williams, a member of the international committee to examine the archives at the Chinese Foreign Office after the Boxer Rebellion found copies of the correspondence between China and the United States. The documents, in a dusty heap on the floor, were bound in purple plush with a silver seal of the United States attached.)

After Cushing's mission had arrived at Macao the staff was augmented by two interpreters, Reverend E. C. Bridgman and Reverend Peter Parker. One wonders with what emotion they translated the President's letter, especially as their years in China had given them a keen insight into the etiquette and propriety of the Chinese people!

Cushing's first official act was to send a communication to the acting Governor-General of Canton, Ching, informing him that he had arrived at Macao where he would remain a few weeks before proceeding to Peking. To this a reply was received stating it would be quite unneec-

essary for the Americans to go north because the Imperial Commissioner was already on his way south. The Chinese were determined to keep Cushing away from the Capital. Weeks were spent in the exchange of diplomatic notes but at last Kiyeng arrived in Canton. In his first message to the American Minister the title of "Chinese Government" stood one line higher in column than that of the "United States Government" and this Cushing immediately returned. It was sent back with the necessary correction. Next, the Imperial Commissioner stated flatly that if Cushing insisted on going to Peking he, Kiyeng, was not authorized to continue with the negotiations and in this point Cushing yielded.

The treaty was signed at Wanghia, just outside Macao, on July 3rd, 1844, four and a half months after the arrival of the mission, with the preliminary agreement that "there shall be perfect, permanent, universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part and the Ta Tsing Empire on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places."

Great Britain had opened the door to the China trade with the Treaty of Nanking providing that British subjects might trade at the four additional ports, that equality was to be observed in diplomatic correspondence, that all monopolies were to be dissolved, and that tonnage dues were to be lowered. These stipulations were included in the Treaty of Wanghia also, but the American treaty was more explicit and in some particulars an improvement over the British treaty. Regulations governing trade were carefully defined and included the privilege of remaining two days at any port without payment of duties if cargo were not discharged; duties were to be paid at one port only and goods might be reshipped without extra charges. Provisions concerning extra-territoriality were contained in Article XXI,

Subjects of China who may be guilty of any criminal act towards citizens of the United States shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws

of China; and citizens of the United States who may commit any crime in China shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the Consul, or other public functionary of the United States, thereto authorized, according to the laws of the United States.

And in Article XXV,

All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between citizens of the United States and China shall be subject to jurisdiction and regulated by the authorities of their own government; and all controversies occurring in China between citizens of the United States and subjects of any other government shall be regulated by the treaties existing between the United States and such governments, respectively, without interference on the part of China.

Of importance to missionaries as well as to merchants was Article XVIII which stated that teachers might be employed and Chinese books bought. Also, Americans were to be allowed to build houses, hospitals and churches, and to engage pilots, compradores, linguists, seamen and servants without interference on the part of local officials. The last Article, XXXIV, provided that the treaty might be revised after twelve years.

While Cushing was waiting in Macao for Kiyeng to arrive in Canton an incident occurred, which, because of the anti-foreign feeling of the populace, could have assumed serious proportions. The *Brandywine* brought out a new flagstaff and weathervane for the Consulate which were duly erected, but the weathervane had to be removed because the natives thought it had a destructive influence and was causing disease. A mob attacked the Consulate, though no serious damage was done. A few days later some Chinese assaulted some Americans and in the mêlée a Chinese was killed. The affair was referred to Cushing and Kiyeng and Cushing insisted that the man who was responsible for the death be tried according to American law. He was acquitted on the grounds of self defense. Kiyeng, to smooth over and hush up the matter, compensated the dead man's family for their loss.

In celebration of the signing of the treaty the Imperial Commissioner entertained the American mission at a lavish feast, the food and wines being of the rarest. The next morning Cushing admitted to a "slight languor." Cushing and Kiyeng parted on amicable terms having settled the relations between their two countries according to protocol, but if the Americans had assumed the Chinese were ignorant barbarians, the compliment was returned twofold. During the second Sino-British war, official Chinese papers were found in which Kiyeng referred to Cushing as the "Uncivilized Envoy" and told how his "stupid ignorance" had to be dispelled.

The third treaty to complete the opening of China was with France. It was based on the Treaty of Wanghai with the additional privilege of the toleration of Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant. The Emperor wrote with his vermilion brush, "Let it be as Kiyeng says," and accordingly the Commissioner issued a statement that Chinese practising Christianity would be held blameless and would not be subject to punishment.

These treaties, humiliating to China, marked the end of an era. Gone forever was the immemorial, mysterious seclusion of an age-old civilization. The Dragon, rudely wakened from his sleep of centuries, fled.

The swan-song of the American East-India trade began about the time the treaties were signed and culminated with the outbreak of the Civil War. In those years the famous clippers were developed and made our merchant marine superior to any afloat. The decline in trade was due partly to the war, but more to the change from wood to iron ships for which we were not prepared. In thinking of the old China trade one must pay homage to the men who fostered it, to their courage and determination that American commerce should proceed unmolested throughout the world. To the ships they sailed in, Whittier has written :

God bless her whereso'er the breeze
Her snowy wings shall fan
Beside the frozen Hebrides
Or sultry Hindustan

Where'er in mart or on the main
 With peaceful flag unfurled
 She helps to wind the silken chain
 Of commerce round the world

Her pathway on the open main
 May blessings follow free
 And glad hearts welcome back again
 Her white sails from the sea.

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SALEM PRISON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

John Kelly, Dec. 15, 1685, for stealing linen from five different persons, was committed to prison to answer at the next County court. "The winter proueing violent Cold & noe Chimney in y^e prison y^e persons complaining haveing Rec^d all or the most part of their goods againe did forgiue & discharge him from y^e fact soe far as related unto them and hee selling himselfe (for three pounds ten shillings) for 4 yeares service payd the feese & Charges & soe was turned out of prison, or otherwayes would haue perished. And was sent to Barbados a servant & I hope y^e Country well rid of a grand theife. Necessity hath noe Law."

Essex County Quarterly Court Records.

AN EARLY LETTER TO THE SALEM EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY.

By ERNEST S. DODGE.

In 1802 John Fitzpatrick Jefferie, an Englishman, sent a number of objects to the newly founded museum of the Salem East India Marine Society. These specimens, accompanied by a letter, were transported from Mauritius (formerly called the Isle of France) to Salem by Captain John Holman in the ship *Two Brothers*.¹

The letter, after a few paragraphs of rather flowery flattery about America and her commerce, contains an extract from Jefferie's journal written while he was Purser of the English ship *Earl Cornwallis* in 1801 and then goes on and lists the objects he presented to the museum. His purpose in including the extract from his journal was to inform the members of the East India Marine Society of an unrecorded island he had sighted and attempted to land on. From Jefferie's latitude and longitude, 12° 21' south and 170° 47' east, the island must be Tikopia south east of the Santa Cruz group. His guess that his longitude may have been in error by a few miles is correct, the actual position of the island being 12° 21' south by 168° 43' east.² He is also correct in thinking it the same as the island seen by the Spanish navigator Pedro Fernandez de Quiros in 1606. After Quiros the island was not again visited until 1798.³ The next famous navigator to visit Tikopia was Peter Dillon, during his search for the ill-fated expedition of La Perouse, in 1813,

¹ *Ship Registers of the District of Salem and Beverly, Massachusetts, 1789-1900* (Salem: The Essex Institute, 1906), p. 188.

² William T. Brigham, "An Index to the Islands of the Pacific Ocean: A Handbook to the Chart on the Walls of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History," *Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, I, 2 (Honolulu, 1900), p. 159.

³ Alexander G. Findley, *A Directory for the Navigation of the Pacific Ocean; With Descriptions of its Coasts, Islands, etc., From the Strait of Magalhaens to the Arctic Sea, and Those of Asia and Australia; its Winds, Currents, and Other Phe-*

1826 and 1827.⁴ In 1828 Dumont D'Urville stopped at Tikopia and thereafter almost its only European contacts were with whalers. It is evident that Jefferie and the ship's company of the *Earl Cornwallis* were probably the second group of white men to see the island of Tikopia after a lapse of nearly two centuries. The letter, the original of which is in the manuscript collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem, follows:

Isle of France December 1802

The President & Members of the Museum of Salem,
Gentlemen,

Being inform'd by my friend Mr. John Mack of your town, that you had commenc'd the formation of a Museum, into which you readily admitted any curiosities collected by travellers; and receiv'd such information as they could give relative to the productions, manners and customs of the different Countries and People they had visited, — I beg leave to offer some few things as per accompanying list, which I request you will honor me by receiving, and anything in my power to procure in future I shall derive much pleasure in forwarding to you.

The great character gain'd by the town of Salem, for her spirited and disinterested support of Boston, while the latter was suffering under the lash of British power, has never diminish'd, and every honest citizen of the world must feel anxious that it never may!

While the thunder of war has been rolling nearly round the globe, we have witness'd America (secur'd by a mild government:) smiling in the midst of plentiful harvests and domestic comforts,—while every sea has been cover'd and every port and harbor fill'd by her Shipping: not Ships of war for the annoyance of the trade of other na-

nomena, II (London, 1851), pp. 963-964. Findley states here that an alternate name for Tikopia was "Barwell Island," derived from the second vessel which visited it in 1798 (Quiros being the first). He also says that two other men Captain Golownin and Captain Tromelin were there before Dillon. I have been unable to identify the ship *Barwell* or the two captains mentioned.

⁴ Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (New York: American Book Company, 1936), p. 32.

tions or the protection of her own,—(for they were both render'd unnecessary by the able poise she kept in the friendship of all countries),—but vessels trading,—and at once pouring wealth and information into her lap. The town of Salem has had its proportion, and every man must applaud those good exertions her inhabitants made for the increase of a knowledge of nature, which they did not fail to unite with the advance of their fortunes. And while her merchants have stretched to each quarter of the world with their merchandize, they have also made it their pride to collect all those productions which excite curiosity and the great, tho' pleasing study of the beauties of nature! The trifles I forward you are scarcely worthy your acceptance—but they are all I have,—and I could not withhold the tribute, I, as a member of society, ow'd you.

The widow's mite, tho not sufficient to relieve even one poor suffering wretch, was receiv'd, because the intention was of equal worth, in the eye of the great ruler of the universe, with the treasure of the wealthy man!

I shall now take the liberty, Gentlemen, of trespassing a little on your time, by copying an extract from my Journal relative to an island, I fell in with, in the Ship *Earl Cornwallis*, of which I was Purser, in the Lat. of $12^{\circ} 21'$ South & Long. $170^{\circ} 47'$ East. I take it to be the one seen by Quiros, a Spanish navigator, in the year 1606 and laid down in nearly the same lat. tho a very different long. in the chart. However I must observe that we might err a few miles in the latter, as the weather had been for several days so thick as to prevent our taking an altitude even of the sun, to correct the account p^r chronometer. If it is not the same island, as that laid down by Quiros, it is most certainly in the vicinity of it, and perhaps of others. However you'll be better able to judge by the following extract, made immediately after I attempted a landing.

"October 25, 1801 (per log) I went, accompanied by Mr. Black (a passenger on board) in the ships jolly boat, with 4 hands at the oars, arm'd, to try if a landing could be effected, which, from the hostile appearance of the

natives we saw on the beach we had reason to despair of;—nor were we mistaken in our conjecture, for on pulling in shore, we observ'd their determination of resisting any attempt we might make of that nature. We were arm'd, but to offer to land among an unoffending people, *totally against their will*, would have been an act of injustice, I did not feel dispos'd to be guilty of, altho' my inclination to have intercourse with them was of the strongest kind.

"From the very determin'd way in which they prepar'd to oppose our visit it would most probably have been necessary for us to proceed to extremities before we could have succeeded in getting on shore; beside which, it was my determination not to persist in the attempt unless they show'd a friendly disposition.

"I wav'd, as an emblem of my pacific intentions, the stalk of a plaintain, which I took with me for the purpose. This was answer'd in the same way repeatedly on shore.

"I should have proceeded towards them much more quickly than I had done, from the favorable impression this made on me, had I not, a few moments after, been deterr'd by the appearance of the arm'd men, who pointed their arrows and spears at us, while others, furnish'd with clubs, seem'd by their gesticulation, to threaten vengeance on us, if we attempted any farther to disturb their peace!

"When we had got near the shore, a number of them to the amount of 80 or 90, compos'd of Archers, Spear and club-men, advanc'd in the most regular order from the east point of the Island, giving a shout at which about 60 march'd from the opposite extreme towards them, so as to join at the place we were then pulling for, it being the only one we could land at, as two reefs, one on each side of us, prevented the possibility of our getting on shore elsewhere. In a short time they had accumulated in their numbers to 300 or more. We had now got close enough to hear the Shrieks of the women & children, who were on the shore, I suppose taking leave of their husbands and fathers, as they were, very shortly afterwards, sent into the woods. The greatest order appear'd

among them still, except a few, who came farther forward than the rest, pointing their arrows and spears, and shaking their clubs at us, at the same time making evident signs indicative of their wish for us to depart. The men in the boat now lay on their oars, as we judg'd it would not be expedient to get within reach of their arrows 'till we had more minutely watch'd their motions and observ'd whether they would be friendly with us or not.

"I was very anxious to shew them the effect of our guns by shooting a bird,—but neither my fowling piece or its report had the smallest effect on them. It did not appear to create the smallest astonishment. Again did they resume their menaces, and repeat signs we could easily construe into a wish for us to leave them.

"As it was now evident that a landing was impracticable, and a thick squall coming on very fast, we pulled off for the ship, now out of our sight and made her in about three quarters of an hour.

"At the commencement of the march of the natives, one, more conspicuous than the rest, whose dress was yellow, and whom we took to be a priest, was apparently exhorting them,—after which entering the woods he disappear'd. At his departure the warriors, with the greatest alacrity, fasten'd on their matted breast-plates and grasp'd their arms.

"They were of a reddish brown color; curly hair, generally without any covering on the head; middle siz'd; stout and active, and in their arms & dresses very much resembling the Otaheitans.⁵ Altho' they kept up a continual noise, we could not catch a single expression they made use of. One, who came close to the waters edge, after making a great number of motions (very dextrously) with his club, turn'd round, in the calmest manner possible, and after patting his posteriors (which were expos'd

⁵ Jefferie's noting the inhabitants resemblance to Tahitians further corroborates the evidence that the island in question is Tikopia. There are several islands in Melanesia, among them Tikopia, with Polynesian populations. Hence the inhabitants bear a closer resemblance to their fellow Polynesians to the eastwards than to the very different Melanesians in the neighboring islands.

to us) walk'd off to the main body, as if exulting at our not accepting his challenge.

"There were a number of low huts at the feet of the Hills, from 4 to 7 & 8 feet high—made with poles, over which a quantity of bark & grass was laid. The sides are the same, and a small hole in one of them serves for the inhabitants to pass in and out.

"I did not observe any appearance of fish about the island, or canoe for getting them, or for use in war; neither did I see a single land bird or animal of any Kind! The bread fruit and plaintain tree are here, and cocoa trees in very great abundance.

"I could not see any wood fit for making canoes, and on the whole I am of opinion, that these people are prepar'd to act on the *defensive* only, from their promptness in preparing for which it induces me to suppose there must be other inhabited islands at no great distance from whence they are liable to incursions; as it would be improbable that people unknown to the rest of mankind, and living on so small a spot, where intestine divisions cannot be suppos'd to exist, should be so well prepar'd to resist an invasion, and that with so much order as was observ'd by them.

"As we were off the island the preceeding evening it is very likely that whatever cattle was on it . . . might have been driven into the woods.

"We saw among them two, whom we judg'd were *lepers*: one white and the other a dingy white, both with bandages on their heads.

"The place where we intended landing, was between two reefs, before mention'd, and did not leave above 30 yards for a passage.

"On our return on board, orders for making sail were given. Thus we left this unknown race of men in the peaceable possession of their woods & liberty,—after disturbing their families and creating confusion in their little state;—perhaps, by the information which the present appearance of it may give, altho' my intentions were of the purest kind, render its inhabitants a prey to some misguided adventurers, who, from the natural desire, they

evinced of defending their rights, may proceed to cruel and unjustifiable extremities!

"That love of Country we so much admire in civilized men in general, is not inherent in *them alone*; for here we see untutor'd, uncultivated people, animat'd with the *Amor Patriae*; arm'd and determin'd to resist every attempt which appears to militate against their laws and customs, or to rob them of the smallest particle of their liberties!"

Those, Gentlemen, are the observations I made at the moment,—and I hope at a future period they may be of service to some navigators, who trusting wholly to the charts they have, may, perhaps, when too late, find the necessity there is in attending to them. Had we not observ'd the island at the time we did, we should most certainly have been on the reef which runs from it, as the weather was very thick,—and it was 6 O.C. P M. when it was descried, about $2/3^{\text{ds}}$ of a mile right ahead. Captain Holman, who, with much politeness, made an offer of carrying the few things mention'd in next sheet, is also good enough to take into his care two different sketches I took of the Island. They are as clear as the weather would permit,—and may be depended on as exact.

List of Articles forwarded p^r *Two Brothers* Capⁿ
Holman⁶

1 Large Philippine Island Sword

1 Malay Kresse of curious workmanship

1 New South Wales Boa with drawers,—the wood Shee-Oak. There are two set of apartments in the top,

6 The following specimens from this collection are still preserved in the ethnological collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem; Philippine Islands sword (E 3027), Tahitian mourning mask (E 5277), New Zealand *mere* (E 5538), and three Marquesan clubs (E 5027, E 5030, E 5032). The Marquesan clubs are either not listed in the letter or are the objects listed as "Otaheitan war waddy's" and "Otaheitan Spear for war." This last situation is perfectly possible for the majority of the mariners who gave objects were notoriously careless in their descriptions and geographical locations. They frequently collected an object at one island which had originated at some other island and assumed that it was native to its island of purchase.

fill'd with shells of that country & the Philippine Isles. There are two drawers in the bottom containing Otaheitan fishhooks and

- 1 Norfolk Island yellow wood box, with a stone common in the inner parts of New South Wales, possessing the quality of cutting glass; also 4 small square stones pick'd up at the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1 Otaheitan Spear for war.
- 2 Nuts from the centre of the root of the Norfolk Island Pine Tree. It makes very beautiful fineering stuff.
- 2 Otaheitan war waddy's
- 2 D° D° Bows & Arrows
- 1 D° D° Stone pat-tie-pat-too
- 1 piece Otaheitan cloth, from the bark of a tree, beat into its present form with stones
- 1 Dasypus or Armadillo, which I procur'd alive on the Brazil coast. It is of the most curious of this description of animal, and
- 1 Otaheitan mourning mask (1/2 pearl)

If you should derive any satisfaction from receiving those, or you should not already have some of each kind I forward, I assure you, Gentlemen, my intentions are fulfill'd and if any thing among them should produce an interesting enquiry with yourselves into natural history, the result of which will no doubt edify, I shall feel myself a happy tho humble instrument in procuring for you a pleasure truly inexpressible & which none but the refin'd mind can feel.

In the sincerest wishes for the accomplishment of your design, and your individual happiness & prosperity, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Gentlemen,

Your very obedient
humble servant

John Fitzpatrick Jefferie (Signed)

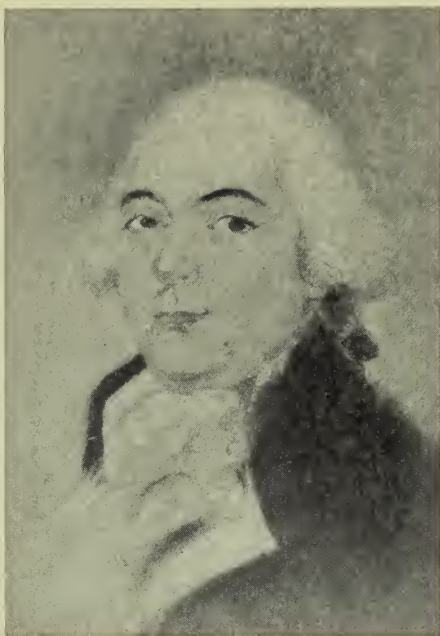
DR. STEPHEN LITTLE, R. N.

By RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON.

Dr. Stephen Little, surgeon, Royal Navy, was one of those Americans who had the courage of their convictions during the trying days of the Revolution. Happily married, a successful physician and popular in his adopted town of Portsmouth, he gave up all this to remain loyal to the crown, endured banishment for twenty-three years three thousand miles from family and friends and died a refugee in a strange land.

Dr. Little was born in the old family homestead at Turkey Hill, West Newbury, 30 May 1745, a son of Stephen and Judith (Bailey) Little. The family had been of the "landed class" for several generations; in fact, the desire on the part of the Littles to acquire land had become almost an obsession. Four generations removed from the immigrant, George Little, he had emerged from the "tiller of the soil" class into that group which looked toward a professional career. Old Stephen Little, the father of the doctor, was a prosperous farmer. He was one of the important men of the town and when the son reached an age in which he was to begin to prepare himself for the future, he was placed under the tutelage of Dr. Clement Jackson, one of the best-known physicians of Portsmouth, N. H. In the office of Dr. Jackson he learned the fundamentals of medical science, insofar as they were known at the time, and he made rapid progress in his chosen profession. He made friends easily. He was a member of old St. John's lodge of Freemasons, served as master, and the future seemed roseate. Then came the clouds of war. Not that the situation was unexpected. His brother-in-law, the celebrated Dr. Hall Jackson had predicted the crash for some time. "The pot has been simmering; now it begins to boil," the latter wrote to a friend sometime before the outbreak of hostilities.

But Dr. Little apparently could not bring himself to believe that the struggling colonists would ever be success-



DR. STEPHEN LITTLE, R. N.

1745 - 1800

From a portrait by John Singleton Copley

ful in their quarrel with the Mother Country. Moreover, his closest friends, Gov. Wentworth, the Sparhawks and others, shared his belief and their attachment to England was strong. For two years after the war began, Dr. Little attempted to live peaceably in Portsmouth but existence there became increasingly difficult. Citizens of the old town regarded him with suspicion. While Dr. Hall Jackson was absent in army camps, his brother-in-law took over many of his patients which did not make for the best of friendly feelings. Finally, life in Portsmouth could no longer exist for the tories and the New Hampshire legislature passed the act of banishment in 1777 and Dr. Little, along with the Wentworths, Pepperrells and Sparhawks was put aboard ship and sent to England. Probably this was the proper thing to do, yet one must realize that the tories were only attempting to maintain the status quo; they were attempting to preserve the existing government and to discourage armed revolution against the government which they recognized and under which they and their ancestors had lived.

Arriving in England, the tories were well received and showered with attention. Dr. Little was given a commission as surgeon in the British navy and a grant of two thousand acres of land in Upper Canada. He was also attached to the Locke Hospital in London as consultant, and without doubt enjoyed himself among the British aristocracy as much as a man bereft of wife and children could. He appears to have been friendly with many of the refugees and probably was acquainted with John Singleton Copley, the American artist (father of Lord Lyndhurst) who did a portrait of him which is now owned by descendants in Portland, Maine.

But, after the close of the American Revolution, sympathy for the tories in England began to wane, and their popularity diminished.

Dr. Little's commission in the navy brought him insufficient funds to live on and his position in the Locke Hospital went to another. He could not return to Portsmouth upon pain of imprisonment. For some years he must have

lived rather precariously. In a letter dated in 1792 he tells of opening an apothecary shop in Cleveland street, Tottenham court road, London. How he made out in this venture, we do not know. We do know, however, that the twilight of life found him discouraged and disillusioned and that death came to him prematurely on 11 July 1800, at the age of fifty-five years far from his native hills of West Newbury.

His widow lived until 13 February 1806, the beneficiary of her brother's estate in Portsmouth. He also left four children, Stephen Little, jr. of Portland; Mrs. Simon Adams (Sarah Little) of Limerick, Maine; Mrs. Silas Pearson, jr. (Mary Little) and Mrs. Richard Stickney (Elizabeth Little) of Newbury, Mass.

The following letter furnishes a glimpse of his situation in London eight years before his death:

London, 27 Aug. 1792

My Dear Mrs. Little,

Your two last letters I did not receive till the latter end of May. I had been ill near eight month at Sheffield in Yorkshire and no one of my acquaintance knew where I was for many months, therefore the Letters laid at the Cannon Coffee House. I was taken ill on the Road with a Nervous Fever which lasted near fifty days, delirious the whole time, without a soul that knew me. It left me many months in a state of idiotism and almost blind it had such affect on the optic nerves but cold bathing and bracing medicine am thank God pretty well recovered. The expences attending my sickness (being at an inn) with medical attendance for such a length of time have been intolerable.

Your last letters have given me most excruciating pain and anxiety of mind. The vile propogation of young Torrey to wound your feelings and our dear family is beyond description wicked and false.

It must carry conviction in the face of it. You say he is just come from London with the story you relate in yours. I tell you on my word and honour he has not been in London for three years before the date of your letter, therefore, he must make the story for mischief sake. God may forgive him. I think I never shall. There is another precious youth going home with Mackey young M——. I should not

wonder if he should frame some infamous story as I have rather offended him.

My real intention was to have been in America as soon as possible on the settlement of Dr. Greenleaf's affair—but when I come to read his letter which you enclosed I did not dare proceed. I should be liable to a prison immediately. He says he will wait twelve months for one half and two years for the remainder provided I will give him sufficient security. It will amount to a very great sum interest included for upwards of twenty years, a sum I fear I shall never be able to pay. Therefore, I have done a thing I hope will succeed and meet with your approbation. I have taken an apothecary shop for 12 months, as much longer as I choose. Am now going to try business in London. Am determined to strain every nerve in future to do something to make us comfortable and likewise assist our dear children. I think the situation a very good one for business. If it should not do I can give it up at 12 months. If that should be the case I intend going to settle in Upper Canada as I have obtained a warrant from the Treasury for a thousand acres on condition of going out to settle it myself. At present I shall be very hard pushed as I am obliged to get all my medicines. At the same time I have got those sent to you by Capt. Mackey by the invoice enclosed you will see what they are. I hope you will be able to dispose of them to advantage. They ought to bring you at least all told together two pounds lawfull for one sterling. I wish I could send you cash but it is not in my power. I hope soon to have it in my power to send for you and family. Poor Sally who I hope is tolerably settled. God Almighty bless her and husband. I am determined to do everything in my power to assist them. I hope it will not be long. You enclosed me a letter from our Son in law Adams. I shall write to him shortly. Give my Respects and Love to him and Sally. I esteem him much by his respectful and affectionate manner of speaking of you and his wife.

Give my most tender love to our other children and accept my most sincere love and thanks for your unabated care, attention and trouble for these years past. I hope it will yet be in my power before a long time to contribute my mite toward their and your comfort in this world. If I have been the innocent or real cause of wounding your mind, I hope

God will forgive me and reward you ten thousand fold for your suffering, for believe me when I say I think you are as good a woman as now exists. I wish you had the same opinion of me with the same reason to believe it. I am still your affectionate and I hope faithful husband.

S Little

P. S. The shop I have taken is in Cleaveland street, Tottenham Court Road. Direct your letter as before, which is close by me. Let me hear from you immediately.

ORDERS FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING
TO JOHN FISHER.

Newburgh June 6 1781.

Sir,

Be pleased to furnish Capt. Baxter with a pettiauger or other craft to go to Constitution Island to bring up the chain or iron of the old boom.

T. Pickering, Q. M. G.

Mr. John Fisher, A. D. Q. M.

Fishkill Landing

—*Essex Institute Manuscript Collections.*

MARBLEHEAD COMMONERS' RECORDS,
1652-1745.

(Continued from Volume LXXVII, page 180.)

To Rent from march 26 1723 to march 26 1724—	00-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1724 to march 26 1725—	00-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1725 to march 26 1726—	00-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1726 to march 26 1727—	00-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1727 to march 26 1728—	00-05 00
	<hr/>
	5-10 00
To Rent from march 26 1728 to march 26 1729	0-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1729 to march 26 1730—	0-05 00
	<hr/>
	6-00 00
To Rent from march 26 1730 to march 26 1731—	0-05 00
To Rent from march 26 1731 to march 26 1732—	0-05-00
To Rent from march 26 1732 to march 26 1733—	0-05-00
To Rent from march 26 1733 to march 26 1734—	0-05-00
To Rent from march 26 1734 to march 26 1735	0-05 00
	<hr/>
	7- 5 00
[41] pr Contra Cr	lb s d
pr money pd James Dennis for ye year 1683	00 05 00
pr money pd to Capt Ward for the year: 1684:	d
as: appears folio: 29 — —	00 05 00

Aprill. 11th: 1691. Paied in money from the yeare 85. to the yeare 1691 for his fish fence according to his lease being six yeares at 5-s pr yeare in all 1 lb: 10: 00 — —	}	01 10 00
---	---	----------

001 00 0

Aprill 1696 by money paid for the hier of
my stage 20/ which is In foull for the time
past

1701	003 00 0
April 9 1706 by mony paid in full To 25	
March 1701	1::10::...
by money paid one pound five shillings	1 5 0
	<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> 05 15 0

April: 9 1711 By money received of Coll: } Legg & mr. Conant for rent of fish fence[s] } in full: to 25th of march 1711.— }	01 05 00
may 2d 1715 By money received of mr. John } Conant for rent of his fish fence that was } formerly Coll: Leggs in full to the 26. of } march. 1715 }	01 00 00
April 15 1717 By money received of mr. } John Conant for rent of his fish fence in } full to the 26th day of march last past { 1717— }	00 10 00
by Rent Reseved for the year 1718 and nin- } ten & twenty }	00 15.00
by Rent Reseved for the yeaer 1721 and } 1722 & for 1723— }	00 15 00
by Rent for the yeaer 1724 and for 1725)	00-10.00
by Rent Resevd for the yeaer 1726 and for } the year 1727 }	00-10 00
	<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> 05- 5-00

1730 may the 6 by Rent Resevd of garson & [twasn] in full	00-15-00
--	----------

1733 september 5th Creadett by Cash	06-00 0
paid to N Bouing's	00-15- 0

1737 June 27th Resevd of mr Joseph Garson and mr. Samuells Twdsen the sume of fouer pounds one shiling in mony in full to the twenty six Day of march past —	04-01 00
---	----------

10-16-00

as wee agreaged for the time past to the 26 of march
1737 and haufe bee gon a new apou outhur Consdractions
in the Commons New Book in foll [1]22 as will thaer
apeaer with sd Garsons & twsden's hand to the book —

[42] Richard Reed is Dr

To Rent for his flake yard from March 26. 83 to March.26:84: att an annuall Rent of	lb s d
20s: as appears folio:17:— —	01:00 00

To Rent for ye same from March.26:84: to March.26.85:— — —	01:00 00
---	----------

To Rent for ye same from March.26.85:to March.26:86	01:00 00
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To Rent for ye same from March 26.86 to March 26.87:	01:00 00
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To Rent for ye same from March.26.87 to March.26.88	01 00 00
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To Rent from March 26:88..to: March 26 1689—	01 00 00
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To Rent from March 26.89 to March 26. 1690 — —	01 00 00
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To Rent from March 26.90. to March.26.91	01 00 00
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To Rent from March.26.91.to March26.95 att 20s p,annu:	04:00 00
---	----------

012 00 00

1696 To Rent from march 26 to morsch 26 96 att 20/	001 00 0
---	----------

1697 To Rent morsch 26 to morsch 26/97 att 20/	001 00 0
---	----------

1698 To Rent from morch 26 to morch 26 98 att 20/	01 00 0
	<hr/> 15 00 0

Thomas Roads Debr 1700

To rent for the yeare 1700 ten shillings for the use of the Land at the point of the neck to make his fish upon	} 00 10 00
---	------------

[43] Richd Reed is Cr	lb s d
p money pd James Dennis for ye year 1683—	01 00 00
p money pd for the same to Mr Ward for the year 1684 as appears folio.29: —	01 00 00
P money paid Capt. Legg: 1691: Six pound	06:00:00
Aprcl 1695 by mony Recevd of Recher Reed for the Lease of his fish fence: pr John Legg which is In foull for the time past	05 0 00

012 00 00

Aprcl 18 1698 Receved of Recherd Reed for Rentt of his stag —	002 00 0
and bey Abatement of his Rent — —	001 00 0
	<hr/> 15 00 00

Thomas Road Credr:

To ten shillings pd. Capt Legg for the yeare 1700 for his fish fence upon the point of the neck from the 26.march 1700 to the 26.] march 1701	} 00 10 00
--	------------

[44] John Pederick of ye Neck is Dr	
To Rent for his flakeyd from March:26.83 to March 26 84	lb s d 00:10:00
To Rent for ye same from March:26:84 to March.26.85	00:10 00
To Rent for ditto from March 26.85 to March:26.86	00 10 00
To Rent from March 26:86 to March.26 87	00 10:00
To Rentt from March 26:87 to: March 26.88	00 10 00

To Rent from March 26:88:to: March 26. 1689 —	00 10 00
To Rent from March 26.89.to March 26. 1690 —	00 10 00
To Rent from March 26.90.to March 26.91	00 10 00
	<hr/>
	04 0 0
	<hr/>

To R Richard Gross and Miriam Relict and
succesour of John Pederick are Dr.

To Rent by their owne Act in folio 27. from March:26:1691 to March.26.1695 att 10s p annum — —	02:00 00
To Rent from march.26.95. to march 26. 1699.at 10-S pr.	02 00 00
	<hr/>
	04 00 00

To Rent from march 26 99.to march 26
1703.at 10s per Annum which is three yeare
to Rent from March 26th 1703 to March 26th
1704

To Rent from march 26 1704 to march 1705	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26 1705 to march 1706:	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26 1706 to march 1707:	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26 1707 to march 1708	00 10 00
	<hr/>
	008.00:00

To Rent from march 26 1708 to march 1709	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26 1709 to march 1710	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26:1710 to march:26 1711 — —	00 10:00
	<hr/>
	09 10 00

To Rent from march 26 1711 to march 26. 1712 — —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26.1712.to march.26. 1713 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26.1713.to march 26. 1714 —	00 10.00

To Rent from march 26.1714 to march 26.1715 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march.26.1715 to march.26.1716 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26.1715 to march 26.1717 —	00 10 00
To rent from march 26.1717 to march 26.1718 —	00 10 00
To rent from march 26.1718. to march 26.1719 —	00 10 00
To rent from march 26.1719 to march 26.1720 —	00 10 00
To rent from march 26.1720 to march 26.1721 —	00 10 00
To rent from march 26.1721. to march 26.1722.—	00 10 00
To rent from march 26.1722. to march 26.1723 —	00 10 00
	<hr/>
	£15-10-00

This Lease is now maied to John Stacy innor

[45] P Contra is Cr	lb s d
p pd to James Dennis for the year 1683 —	00 10 00
p money pd Capt: Ward for the year: 84:—	00 10 00
as appears folio [29]: — —	

P: money paid Capt: Legg: 1691: 36 S — }
 this 36.shillings was pd pr. mr. Grosse — } ..01..16....
 pr. money paied Capt. Legg pr. mr: Grosse }
 for what he is behind since the date of his }
 owne Lease, he not Satisfieing for the arrears { 02 14: 00
 of his predecessor John pederick this 18th }
 day of April 1700 — —

by money paied mr Ingalls one of the Comitie }
 In the year 1706 twenty shillings for .2 years } 001 00 00

Aprill 5 due by ballence from mr Richard
 gross 2 lb 10 s 005-10-00

Aprill The twenty six 1708	
Reseved of Richard gross in full of his Ar-	
rears for his fish fence two pounds — Tenn	
shillings — — —	002 10 00
	<hr/>
	008 00 00
may 30 1711 Received of mr. Richard Gross	
in full for 3 years past —	001 10 00
	<hr/>
	009 10 00
April 30 1715 Received of mrs Gross widow	
[pr] John stasey thirty shillings for three	
years rent past — —	001 10 00
march 31 1718 Then received of Capt John	
Stacey Administrator to the Estate of his	
Grand mother Miriam Gross deceasd	002..00.00
April [5] 1721 To Credit by Capt. John Stacey	
Adm. to the Estate of his Grand mother	001..00..00
Grosses Estate for two years rent of The fish	
fence at the Neck —	
may 6th 1723 Receaved of mr. Samll : Stasey }	
Administrator to pederick & Grosses Estate {	001..10.00
the sum of thirty shillings [for rent of fish	
fence]	}
	<hr/>
	£15-10-00
[46] Andrew Tucker is Dr	
To Rent for his flakeyard from march 26 83	
to March 26 84 att 10 s pr annum as appears	lb s d
folio: 17 —	00 10 00
To Rent for ye same from March: 26: 84 to	
March 26 85	00: 10 00
	<hr/>
To Rent from March 26 85 to March 26: 86	00 10 00
To Rent from March 26: 86. to March 26.	
1687 —	00 10: 00
To Rent from March. 26: 87 to: March 26: 88	00 10 00
To Rent from March. 26. 88: to: March 26.	
1689 —	00 10 00

To Rent from March 26:89.to March 26. 1690 —	00 10 00
To Rent from March.26.90..to March 26.91	00 10 00
<hr/>	
To Rent from March.26: 91 to March.26.95 att 10 s pr annum —	02:00:00
To Rent from march 26.95.to march 26. 1699.at 10 s pr.	02 00 00
<hr/>	
	08 00 00
To Rent from march 26.99.to march.26. 1703 at 10—s pr annum is — —	01 10 00
To Rent from March 26th 1703: To March 2:6th 1704:10...
<hr/>	
	10.....
To Rent from march 26/1704 to march 26th 1705	10 00
To Rent from march 26 1705 to march 26: 1706	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26:1706 to march 1707	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26::1707 to march 1708	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26:1708 to march 1709	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26:1709 to march 1710	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26:1710 to march 26 1711 —	00:10 00
<hr/>	
	Tot: 13:10 00
To Rent from march 26:1711. to march 26. 1712 —	00:10 00
To Rent from march.26.1712.to march.26. 1713 —	00:10 00
To Rent from march.26 1713.to march 26. 1714 —	00:10 00
To Rent from march.26.1714 to march 26. 1715 —	00:10 00
To Rent from march 26.1715.to march 26. 1716 —	00:10 00
To Rent from march 26.1716 to march 26 1717 —	00:10 00

To Rent from march 26.1717 to march 26. 1718 —	00:10 00
To Rent from march 26.1718.to march 26. 1719 —	00:10 00
To Rent from march.26.1719.to march.26. 1720 —	00:10 00
To Rent from march 26.1720.to march 26 1721 —	00:10 00
	<hr/>
	18:10:00
To Rent from march 26.1721.to march 26. 1722 —	00 10:00
To Rent from march 26.1722.to march 26. 1723 —	00 10:00
To Rent from march 26 1723 to march 26 1724 —	00 10 00
	<hr/>
	20 00 00
To Rent from march 26 1724 to march 26— 1725 —	00—10.00
To Rent from march 26 1725 to march 26— 1726 —	00—10 00
To Rent from march 26 1726 to march 26 1727 —	00—10.00
To Rent from march 26 1727 to march 26 1728 —	00 10 00
	<hr/>
	22—10—00
To Rent from march 26 1728 to march 26 1729 —	00—10 00
To Rent from march 26 1729 to march 26 1730 —	00—10 00
To Rent from march 26 1730 to march 26 1731 —	00—10—00
To Rent from march 26 1731 to march 26 1732 —	00—10—00
To Rent from march 26 1732 to march 26 1733 —	00—10—00
To Rent frome march 26 1733 to march 26 1734,—	00—10 00

To Rent from march 26 1734 to march 26 1735 —	00-10-00
[47] Pr Contra is Cr.	lb s d
pr money pd to James Dennis for ye year 1683	00 10 00
pr money pd Mr Ward for the [sd] year 84:	00 10 00
as appears folio.29: — —	— — —
May 1691 pr. money three pounds —	03 00 00
	<hr/>
	04 00 00
Aprill.1st.1703 To twintie shillings in money in prt	01 00 00
	<hr/>
	05 00 00
To Two pounds in money Reseved 1706}	02 00 00
In partt by the Commitie — — }	
	<hr/>
	07:00 00
Aprill: 1711 Received ten shillings in part—	00.10 0
	<hr/>
	007:10
To Credit in the hand of mr Skinner —	002 00 00
	<hr/>
	009 10 00
1720/21 To Credit by Coll: Browne for rent of Tuckers fish fence — —	005 00 00
To Credit by mrs Reed for rent of said Tuckers fish fence — —	002 00 00
	<hr/>
	16 10 00
1728 Aprell the 29 by Cash Resevd of Cpt Andras for Rent his part to the year 1727 the sume of	02-15 00
[48] Robert Bartlett & Joseph Nicholson are Drs	
To Rent for their flakeyard from March 26. 83 to March.26.1684 att 10 s pr annum as appears folio 16 — —	00:10:00
To Rent from March 26.84 to March 26:85:	00 10:00
To Rent from March.26:85 to March:26.86	00 10.00
To Rent from March.26.86 to March 26.87.	00 10 00

To Rent from March 26: 87 to March.26: 88	00:10 00
To Rent from March 26.1688 to March 26 1689	00 10 00
To Rent from March 26.1689 to March 26. 1690 —	00 10 00
To Rent from March 26.90.to March 26.91	00 10 00
To Rent from March.26:91 to march:26. 1695 att. 10 s pr annum — —	02:00 00
To Rent from march.26.95.to march 26. 1699.at ditto — —	02 00 00
	<hr/>
	08 00 00

To Rent from March 26th 1699.To ditto 1701 @	.1..00...—
To Rent from march 26 1701 to 1703 at } 10-s pr annum — —	.1..00....
To Rent from march 26 1703.To ditto 170410...—
To Rent from march 26 1704 To ditto 1705	10
To Rent from march 26 1705 To ditto 1706	10 —
To Rent from march 26 1706 To ditto 1707	10 —
To Rent from march 26 1707 To ditto 1708	10 —
	<hr/>
	012 10:00

march the 26 1708 mr Robartt bartlett det- } ter two pounds fortene Shillings in money to } balance }	
	<hr/>
	00

To Rent from march 26 1708 to march 26 1710	001 00 00
To Rent from March 26 1710 to march 26 1711 —	000 10 00
	<hr/>
	14 00 00
To Rent from march 26 1711 to march 26 1712 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26 1712 to march 26. 1713 —	00 10 00

To Rent from march 26 1713 to march 26.	
1714 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26.1714 to march.26.	
1715 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26.1715 to march 26.	
1716 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26 1716 to march 26	
1717 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26.1717 to march 26.	
1718 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march.26.1718 to march 26.	
1719 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26.1719 to march 26.	
1720 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26.1720 to march 26.	
1721 —	00 10 00
To rent from march 26.1721 to march 26.	
1722 —	00 10 00
To rent from march 26.1722 to march 26.	
1723 —	00 10 00
To Rent from march 26 1723 to march 26	
1724 —	00 10 00
	<hr/>
	20 10 00
To Rent from march 26 1724 to march 26	
1725 —	00-10-00
To Rent from march 26 1725 to march 26	
1726 —	00-10 00
To Rent from march 26 1726 to march 26	
1727 —	00-10.00
To Rent from march 27 1727 to march 26	
1728 —	00-10-00
	<hr/>
	22-10-00
To Rent from march 27 1728 to march 1729	00 10 00
To Rent from march 27 1729 to march 1730	00-10-00
	<hr/>
	23-10-00
To Rent from march 27 1730 to march 1731	00-10-00
To Rent from march 27 1731 to march 1732	00-10-00

To Rent from march 27 1732 to march 1733 00-10-00

[49] pr Contra are Cr:

pr money pd to James Dennis folio: 20 lb s d
for. 83: — — 00 10 00

Aprill [11]th: 169[1] pr. money pd. to Capt. }
Legg pr. Joseph Nickelson from the yeare }
84. to the yeare 91. for his prt of fish fence }
according to this lease, being seven yeares }
at [10]-s pr. yeare, his prt coming to thirtie } 01 14 00
five shills in money, allowing on shill to him }
for making up the way comes to in all. on }
pd: 14. s. 00: }

1691 pr. money: Robt: Bartlet paid Capt }
Legg } ..01..15..00

03 19 00

Aprill. 7th. 1699 pd. pr. Joseph Nickelson to }
Capt: Legg fourtie-shillings in money, be- }
ing in full for his prt of fish fence accord- } 02 00 00
ing to his lease to the 26th day of march }
1699.— }

January 31. 1700/1 To ten shillings in }
money pr. Joseph Nickelson for his prt of }
flake room for the yeares 1699 & 1700 to } 00 10 00
the 26. day of march 1701 pd. to Capt. Legg }
march. 18 1700/1 To thirtie shillings in }
money pd. pr. mr. Robert Bartlett. for his }
part of flake room in prt: of payment [their] } 01 10 00
remaining twintie shillings money to the }
26. day of march. 170[5] }

.7 19 ..

by one shilling first above allowed for Mak-
ing way

... .1....

£..8..00...

Aprill the 2 1708

Reseved of the widdow Andros for Joseph
nickelson partt of Rent for his fish fence in

full the sum of — one pound fiftene shillings in money	01 15 00
Aprill 5. Reseved of Captt bartlett In full two pounds 14 s	02 14 00
1708	12 9 00
Reseved by Abatment one shilling	00 1 00
	12 10 00
April: 1709 Received of mrs Andrews widow	00 10 00
Received of mrs Andrews widow	00 05 00
may 30 1711 Received of Capt Bartlett 15-s in full for the year past	00 15 00
	14 00 00
April 6 1713 Received of Capt Robt Bartlett } & Widow Andrews in full for two years } Rent }	01 00 00
April 1 1714 Received of Capt Bartlett & Widow Andrews in ful for Last year	00 10 00
April 1721 Received of Joseph Andrews fifte- teen shills for there part rent being the ½ of the rent of the fish fence Leased to Capt: Bartlett mr. Nickolson	00 15 00
	16 05 00
To Cash paied by Joseph Nicklsn to [Coll] Norn — —	4-05 00
1730 may 5th by Cash paied to Comitt in full of all by mr thomas Candige at his house —	3-00 00
	23 10 00
by the balance Due Carid outt for thes Last year past as by the a Count	1-10-00
[50] Michael Coes & Jn Stasey are Drs To Rent. for their flakeyard from Sept. 29. 85 to Sept: 29: 1686 att 10s pr annu, as ap- pears folio 27—	lb s d 00 10 00

To Rent from: Sept. 29th 1686 to: Sept. 29	
87 — —	00 10 00
To Rent from Sept 29: 1687 to Sept. 29: 88.	00 10 00
To Rent from Sept. 29: 88: to Sept. 29 1689	00 10 00
To Rent from Sept. 29 89. to Sept: 29. 1690	00 10 00
To Rent from Sept. 29.90. to Sept. 29. 91	00 10 00

To Rent from Sept 29: 91 to Sept: 29: 1694	
att 10 s pr annu	01 10: 00
To Rent from Sept. 29: 94. to Sept. 29: 1698.	
at 10 s pr. annum	02 00 00
	06 10 00

Pentecost Blackinton debt

To rent for his fish yard for the year 1698}	
from the 26 day of march at 16-s pr. yeare}	00 16 00
To rent for ditto for the year 1699 from the}	
date above said 16-s pr yeare — — }	00 16 00
To rent for ditto for the year 1700 from the}	
date abovesd. 16-s pr yeare — — }	00 16 00

mr. Thomas Candaiges Leas brot from outhur	
sid to 1730 is	23-10- 0

mr Thomas Candaige D[tr] for his fish fence one the outhor sid Due thaor to Balance for 3 years Rent silver mony.

[Brut oufer heaer] — —	£1-10-00
1734 Dtr by Rent 10 mor for 1735 for Rent	
10 — —	1-00-00
1736 for Rent and for 1737 for Rent & for	
1738 — —	1-10-00
1739 for Rent and for 1740 for Rent & for	
1741 — —	1-10-00
1742 for Rent 10 — —	0-10-00

£6-00-00

1743 for Rent of fish fence 10s in selver money	0-10-00
1744 for Rent of fish fence 10s in selver money	0-10-00

1745 for Rent of fish fence 10s in selver money	0-10-00
[51] pr Contra are Cr:	
May 1691 pr three pounds in money pr. John Stasie ———	03 00 00
Januay 24 1670/1 To three pounds ten shillings pd Capt Legg in full —	03 10 00
	<hr/>
	06 10 00
	<hr/>

Also for the two years that are behind we have not taking any rent because they renounced the sd lease & land at a commoners meeting in the yeare 1698 and soe we discharge them off the whole in full of the sd lease as witnes our hands the 24 day of January 1670/1

John Legg
Richard Reith
James dennes
Archibald Ferguson¹

Pentecost Blackinton Credit:

To money receaved pr. Capt. Legg for three	}	02 08 00
yeares past as on the other side		

mr Thomas Candaige Creadt brot from outhr Sid to 1730	£23 10 00
---	-----------

mr Thomas Candaige Creadet for Rent september 1745 paied to mr Swet as by Swets aCount	10 00 00
1742 march 16th Creadet by your not to pay Swet the toother	12 10 00

[52] Thomas Smith & Margaret Norman are Drs
To Rent for their flakeyard from March 25:
1685 to March.26.1686: att 10s pr annu. as
appears folio 28 00 10:00:
1697 ocktobr 12 day Wee Whose Names are under written
Trustees for the Comoners of Marblehead For the alena-

¹ It is difficult to understand how rent for land not given up until 1698 could be discharged in 1670.

tion of Vacant Lands for and in Consideration of the Sume of Fiftey Fouer Shillings in Hand payd To us by Joseph Andersn of the same plase Have and Doe by thes presentes Bargaen and sell to the aforesayd Joseph Anderson His heirs and assignes a percel of Land Bounded with The Land of his Fathers on the sowwest sid seven pole And on the southest side four pole and on the northeeste Side Aleven poles and halfe and on the norweste side four pole To Have and to hold the sayd Land to Him and his heirs And assignes and to thear proper use and Behoof forever in witnes of which we havef set our hands

John Legg Ambrose Gale Town Clark

[53] pr Contra are Crs:

4[3]

We whose names are underwritten, Trustees for the Commoners of marble-head, and impowred by them to look after all encroached lands and compound with such encroachers on reasonable terms, finding severall parcells of land encroached by William Niek, and never compounded for by him, wit the first being a triangular piece att the northerne side near William Waters land, about one quarter of an Acre, the second fronting also on the street att ye Southerne side near Jno Martin's old house, the third being a garden on the lower side of the street bordering on mr Latimers meddow the fourth in the old fish fence bordering on Robert Bartletts ffence, the fift & last in the fish fence bordering on mr Devereuxs stage & ffence all which severall five parcells of land, for and in consideration of the summe of seven pounds and five shillings to us in hand well and truly paid by George Jackson of this place Physician, we do therefore by these presents, sell, alienate and confirme to him the sd George Jackson, To Have, hold and enjoy the same to him, his Heirs and Assignes for ever; In witness of all which we have sett to our hands this 20th day of May. Anno dom: 1691:

John Legg

Janes dennes

nathanel walton

[54] We whose Names are underwritten Trustees for

the towne and Commoners of Marblehead are Impowred by them to Look after all encroached Lands & compound on reasonable terms wt such encroachers, doe by these presents Compound and sell unto Jacob knight bricklayer to him and his heirs for ever all that parcell of Land and rocks that his lime kill and Lime house standeth on, bounded with the high waye on both sides, at the upper end wt the Land off John Legroo and at the Lower end running near to a point; for which rock & Land he the sd. Jacob knight hes paied the select men for the use of the commoners thirtie shillings in money to have and to hold the sd Land to him his heires and assignes for ever and to enjoy it peaceably & quietly wtout molestation from the towne or commoners of marblehead In witnes whereof we have sett to owr hands this 22^d day of december 1685

John Legg
 nathanel walton
 James dennes

At a Commoners Meeting in Marblehead January the 21.st. 1689/90 Legally warnd Its voted and Agreed by general consent, That Leift: James Dennis, mr. Nathaniel walton, and Archibald Ferguson are and shal be the trusties, or Committee, for the Commoners of Marblehead this year; And Capt. John Legg an Assistant with the said trusties, or committee; who are heirby fully Impowred to prosecute at Law, and to recover of all and every person, who are and stand Endebted to the commoners of Marble-head, by bill, booke debt, lease rent promise, or any other engadgement, and to release and acquit all and every person, upon, payment of any their sd. debts and engadgements; And further we Impower owr sd trusties or committee to sell outright any former Leases of Lands, fish-fences, swamps, or medow grounds, to all and every person who pretend any lease, claim, or right theirto, and to grant records, and bills of sale for the same; And upon deniall, or refusall of any person who are any maner of way Endebted to the commoners of Marblehead, by bill booke debt, lease rent, promise or

any other engadgement to satisfie and content ovr sd trusties or committee That then we grant and giwe to ovr abowesd. trusties or committee full power to sell, alienate & confirme to any other person any the sd. Lands, fish fences, Swamps or medow grounds, they paying for the same, And further we Impower ovr sd. trusties to call all persons to Accompt who have taken or shall take any parcell of towne Land either by house lotts, fences, or any maner of way; And to make all and every such person to pay for the same, or to prosecute at Law or by agreement to sell, or any other maner of way to compound as they shall Judge will be for the Commoners Interest; And to proceed forthwith in all those affaires, and to render an Accompt to the commoners against the 10th. day of Aprill, and to continue untill others are chosen in their roome

[55] At the same Commoners meeting January 21st. 1689/90 Its voted and agreed by general consent That no maner of person within the towneship of Marblehead by house lott, garden, or any maner of fencing, wtout the Libertie, approbation, and concurrence of Leift: James Dennis Mr. Nathaniel walton and Archibald Ferguson the present trusties, or committee; And if any person otherway presume, we heirby giwe full power to ovr sd. trusties to throw downe, or cause to be throwne downe all and every the sd houses; fences, or whatever shall be sett up and to prosecute, or to abide triall at Law, or any other way to compound or aggree wt all and every such person and to allow all charges that shall be expended the[ir] upon

At the same Commoners meeting January the 21st: 1689/90 Its voted and agreed by generall consent That Archibald Ferguson shall keep the commoners booke, and to record all things that belong theirto for the year ensuing

We whose Names are underwritten Trustees for the towne of Marblehead and Commoners of the same and Impowred

by them, Have sold unto Capt John pitman off Marblehead a small strip of rocks & Land Lying near to his dwelling house in Marblehead two pole & halfe in breadth, near to his wall and about three pole in breadth at the upperend to the northwest and four pole & halfe in length bounded wt the Commons to the west & north east & north west, for which Land & Rockes he hath paied to us in hand sixe shillings in money wheiroff by these we discharge him off, sell alienat, enfeosse, and Confirme unto the sd Capt. John pitman his heires executors or assigns the sd. parcell of Rocks & land to enjoy it peaceably & quietly wtout any molestation or trouble from the towne or commoners off Marblehead In witnes wheirof we have sett, to owr hands this 29th day off January 1689/90

James dennes
nathanel walton
Archibald Ferguson

[56] An Accompt of what the present trusties hawe Acted and done for this present year 1689/90 we whose Names are underwritten Trustees for the Commoners of the towne of Marblehead have sold unto william - Bartoll senr. all that Land that his now dwelling house standeth on for which Land he hath paied to us the sume of ten shillings in money wherof by these we discharge him off, sell, alienate enfeosse and Confirme to the said wm: Bartoll senr. his heires and Assignes forever the sd. parcell of Land and to enjoy it peaceably and quietly wtout any molestation from the towne, or commoners in Marblehead In witnes wherof we hawe sett to owr hands this 29th: day of January 1689/90

James dennes
nathanel walton
Archibald Ferguson

we whose Names are underwritten Trustees for the Commoners of the towne of Marblehead hawe sold unto Elias Hendly senr. a small strip of Land Lying by Goodman Merrets mash six rod in Length, on rod & qwarter south-east end, and on rod at the northwest end for which Land

he hath paied to us the soume of thirtie fiwe shillings in money wherof by these we discharge him off, sell, alienate, enfeosse and confirme to the sd Elias Hendly senr. his heires and Assigns for ever the sd. parcell of Land and to enjoy it peaceably and quietly without any molestation from the towne or commoners in Marblehead. In witnes wherof we have sett to owr hands this 29th. day of January 1689/90

James dennes
na[t]hanel walton
Archibald Ferguson

We whose Names are underwritten Trustees for the Commoners of the towne of Marblehead have sold unto Edward Holman senr. a parcel of Land and Rocks bounded with the Land of John Legroo upon the northeast end and with the highway upon the Southeast side and with the Land of william woodly upon the western end and with the towne Commons upon the North west side for which Land and rocks he hath paied to us the Soume of twintie eight shillings in money whereof by these we discharge him off, sell, alienate enfeosse, and confirme to the said Edward Holman senr. his heires and assignes for ever the sd. parcell of Land and rocks, and to enjoy it peaceably and quietly without any molestation from the towne or commoners in Marblehead. In witnes wheroff we have sett to owr hands this 29th. day off January 1689/90.

James dennes
nathanel wlton
Archibald Ferguson.

[57] We whose Names are underwritten Trustees for the Commoners of the towne of Marblehead have sold unto Samuells waldron al that parcell of Land halfe a pole in breadth Joyning to the end of the Land that was formerly the Land of James Stilson to the west and two pole six foot in lenght Joyning to the Land of Richard Trevet to a rocke to both end of the sd. wall to the west for which Land he hath paied to us six shillings in money wherof by these we discharge him off, sell, alienate, en-

feosse, and Confirme to the said Samwell waldron his heires and assignes for ever the said parcell of Land, and to enjoy it peaceably and quietly without any molestation from the towne or commoners in Marblehead. In witnes wheroff we hawe sett to owr hands this 5th day of february 1689/90

nathanel walton

James dennes

Archibald Ferguson

We whose Names are underwritten Trustees ffor the Commoners of the towne of Marblehead hawe sold unto John kelly now of Marblehead all that parcell off Land that his now dwelling house standeth on with all the Land as its now Laied out to him being nine pole and halfe fronting to the high way towards the southeast in length, fiwe pole and halfe to the North east Joyning to the wall of John Roads senr. in the breadth and eight pole and halfe Joyning to the wall that was formerly the Land of John Gatchells senr. now the Land and wall of Jonathan Corwin to the Northwest, and Elewen pole and about fiwe or six foot Joyning to the towne Commons abutting to a wall that stands therupon to the southwest in the bredth on the other side. for which Land soe bounded and Laied out he hath paied to us the present trustees the soume of fiwe pounds in money, wherof by these we discharge him off sell, alienate, Enfeosse and Confirme to the said John kelly his heires Executors Administrators, and Assigns for ever all the sd. Land that his house now standeth on as also all the Land that is now Laied out and by these presents bounded to Enjoy it peaceably and qwietly without any molestation from the towne or commoners in Marblehead—

In witnes and to the truth of the abowe written we hawe sett to owr hands this fifth day off february 1689/90 in the first yeare of the reigne of king william and Mary of England etcet:

James dennes

nathanel walton

Archibald Ferguson

[58] We whose Names are underwritten Trustees for the Commoners of the towne of Marblehead hawe sold unto Jemina Luckies the widow of Oliwer Luckies Late of Marblehead all that parcell of Land that her now dwelling house standeth on with all the Land that is now Laied out to her being eight pole and halfe in front to the southwest near the high way and eight pole and halfe to the north east Joyning to the wall and Land of Richard Reed in Marblehead and four pole and halfe to the south-east end within fiwe foot of Robert Codnars house only Length of the house and the wall of the sd. Codnars—Joyning to it and three pole and halfe to the commons to the northwest end; for which Land soe bounded and Laied out to the sd. Jemina Luckies, shee hath paied to us the present trustees the soume off fortie shillings in money wherof by these we discharge her off, sell, alienate, Enfeosse, and Confirme to the saied Jemina Luckies the widow of Oliver Luckies, his heires, Executors Administrators and Assigns for ever all the sd. Land that Oliver Luckies house now Standeth on and also all the Land that is now Laid out and by these presents bounded to Enjoy it peaceably and qwietly wthout any molestation from the towne or commoners in Marblehead In witnes and to the truth of the abowewritten we hawe sett to our hands this twintie seventh day of March 1690 in the second yeare of william and Mary king and Queen of England etcet

James dennes
Archibald Ferguson
nathanel wal[ton]

The Commoners are Credr: Aprill.7th:1690

To money pd. pr. William Bartoll 10 ^s foll:	
45:—	00 10 00
To money pd: pr. Elias Hendly senr. 1 ^{lb}	
15 ^s foll: 45—	01 15 00
To money pd pr. Edward Holman senr. 1 ^{lb}	
8 ^s foll: 45—	01 08 00
To money pd: pr: Samll: waldren 6 ^s : foll: 45—	00 06 00

To money pd: pr. John Kelly 5 ^{lb} foll: 45-1-	05 00 00
To money. pd: pr. Jemina Luckies 2 ^{lb} : foll: 46-	02 00 00
To money pd. pr. Capt. Andrew Cratey as foll: 47.30 ^s	01-10 00
To money pd. pr. Capt. John pitman as foll: 44.-	00 06 00
To money pd. pr. Timothie Goodwin as ffoll: -46-	01 05 00
To money pd. pr. Mr. Reed due by bill —	01 00 00
To money pd. pr mr George Jackson —	07 05 00
	<hr/>
	022 5 00
	<hr/>

1692

Aprill 11th There Remaines in Lt James Den-
nis's handes soe much monie repaide him by
Lt. Bartlett & Seargeant Woodes which was
Lent ye Selectmen on the other side. 1.13.—

(To be continued.)

AMESBURY CHURCH RECORDS.

ADMISSIONS TO THE WEST PARISH, NOW MERRIMAC.

Abraham Merrill, William Moulton, Abraham Merrill, Jr., Abigail Merrill, Ruth Moulton, Phebe Tucker, from Second Church, Newbury, about 1726.

Hannah Whittier, Kezia Colby from Salisbury, Jane Fowler of Newbury, before 1730.

Jonathan Kelly and wife Esther, Thomas Merrill and wife Abigail, John Fowler, Jr., Caleb, wife of Caleb Pillsbury, Elizabeth, wife of Dr. Peterson, Susanna, daughter of Caleb Pillsbury, Mary Davis (now Nichols), Richard Kelly, Jr., wife of John Fowler, Jr., Robert Rogers; wife of Wells Chase, Benjamin Morse and wife, Dr. Fowler's wife, from Newbury; Jonathan Pulsifer and wife Susanna, from Second Church, Gloucester, Judith Whittier, Martha Chase, Thomas Stevens, from Brookfield; Stephen Pattin of Boston; Elizabeth Stevens, wife of Deacon, from Newbury, Enoch Chase and wife Judith, from Amesbury; Hannah, wife of Timothy Hoyt, from Salisbury; all from 1730-1761.

Widow Hannah Kent, from Newbury, Oct. 18, 1761.

Martha Chase, from Fourth Church, Newbury, June 8, 1737.

Enoch Chase and wife, from ———, June 13, 1744.

Rev. Francis Welch, from Plaistow, June 3, 1789.

Joshua Plummer and wife from the Presbyterian Church in East Parish, July 5, 1792.

Rev. David Smith, from Leicester, Jan. 28, 1795.

Mrs. Priscilla Smith, wife of Rev. David, from Second Church, Haverhill, Sept. 11, 1796.

DISMISSIONS FROM THE WEST PARISH, NOW MERRIMAC.

Dea. Thomas Stevens and wife, to Church of Rev. B. Parker, Sept. 13, 1761.

Mary Woodman (formerly Sanders) to Mr. Tufts, May 13, 1730.

Abraham Colby, to Pennycook, Nov. 8, 1730.

Michael Lancaster and his mother to Methuen, Mar. 10, 1730-31.

Alice Bartlett, Feb. 6, 1731-32.

Mrs. Godfrey, formerly Sargent, and Mrs. Kent, formerly Rowell, May 20, 1732.

Ebenezer Abbot, to First Church, Andover, Dec. 9, 1733.

Thomas Merrill and wife, to Second Church, Bradford, Aug. 13, 1735.

Rachel Stevens, now Webster, to Chester, May 10, 1739.

Susanna Kelly and Sarah Davis, to Second Church, Methuen, Sept. 20, 1741.

Jonathan Colby and wife to Chester, Apr. 22, 1742.

John Fowler, Jr., and wife to Contoocook, June 9, 1742.

Jonathan Pulsifer and wife, to Kensington, Mar. 9, 1742-43.

Aaron Patten and Mary Blasdell, now Webster, to church where they are now living, May 9, 1744.

Orlando Colby and wife and Mary Webster, to Chester, Nov. 18, 1744.

Joseph Kelly and wife, Robert Hunkings and wife, James Bradbury and wife, George Hastings and wife, Ezra Chase and wife, Joseph Kelly, Jr., and wife, widow Ruth Hastings and Judith Kelly, in order to their being gathered into a church in East Precinct of Haverhill, Nov. 25, 1744.

Tirzah Ordway, now Ealy, to East parish, Haverhill, Mar. 31, 1745.

James Ordway, Jr., to First Church, Methuen, July 14, 1745.

Mary Dent, (late Challis), to First Church, Kingston, July 14, 1745.

Rev. Mr. Tucker, to First Church, Newbury, Nov. 17, 1745.

Mary Bartlett, to Second Church, Sutton, Nov. 15, 1747.

Joseph Collins, and wife, to South Hampton, Apr. 12, 1749.

Judith Whittier to Haverhill, July 18, 1749.

Mary Dent and Dorothy Sleeper, to Kingston, July 18, 1749.

Thomas Stevens, to Hardwick, Feb. 10, 1750.

William Harvy and wife, to Fourth Church, Newbury, Feb. 10, 1750.

John Sargeant, Jr., and wife, to Methuen, Mar. 26, 1752.

Samuell Hadly and wife, Nathan Goodwin and wife, Edmund Sawyer and wife, Amos Clark and wife,

- John Muzzy, John Hunkins, Jerusha Stevens and Hannah Heath, in order to their being gathered into a church at Hampstead, May 31, 1752.
- Jane Kelly, now Brown, to Newbury Newtown, Mar. 28, 1756.
- Joseph Short, to Newbury Newtown, Apr. 25, 1756.
- Mrs. Sarah Johnson, to Newbury, May 10, 1758.
- William Rowell, David Sargent and wife, Thomas Fowler and wife, Henry Bagley and wife, Reuben Hoyt and wife, Christopher Rowell and wife, widow Sarah Bartlett, Elizabeth Bartlet, Sarah Jewell, widow Ruth Merrill, Mary Jewell, gathered with others in a church at Newtown, N. H., Dec. 3, 1758.
- Ann Hobbs, to Newtown, May 13, 1759.
- Jemima Foot, to First Church, Kingston, May 13, 1759.
- Hannah Collby and the wife of Daniel Colby and David Teuxbury, Jr., to the church where they now live, Oct. 10, 1759.
- Mercy, wife of John Pressy, to Sandown, Nov. 25, 1759.
- Israel Dow and wife and wife of Benjamin Tucker, Jr., to Sandown, May 18, 1760.
- Dea. Stevens and wife, to Rev. B. Parker's, Sept. 13, 1761.
- Wife of Joseph Nichols, to First Church, Kingston, Sept. 12, 1762.
- Paine Wingate, to Second Church, Hampton, Dec. 4, 1763.
- Anna Teuxbury, now Collby, to Hawk, Mar. 29, 1764.
- Widow Jemima Sargent, to Suncook, Nov. 14, 1764.
- Widow Elizabeth Clark and wife of Parrot Hadly, to Nottingham, July 13, 1766.
- J. J. Currier and Joseph Dow and wife, to Goffstown, Oct. 13, 1771.
- Mehitabel Emerson, to Atkinson, Aug. 15, 1773.
- Judith Silver, to Hopkinson, July 12, 1774.
- Ruth Pressy, to East part of Pownalborough, Sept. 18, 1774.
- Wife of Eliot Collby, to Warner, Jan. 30, 1780.
- Mrs. Eunice White and Mrs. Betsey Parker, to any church, Feb. 14, 1790.
- John Kelly, to church in Hampstead where he is to be ordained, Oct. 18, 1792.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CRUSADER IN CRINOLINE. The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe. By Forrest Wilson. 1941. 706 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. Price, \$3.50.

This definitive biography of one of the most indomitable and intelligent of nineteenth century writers is a model of its kind. As one of the famous Beecher family, she had a background in her own right, and as the wife of Rev. Calvin Stowe, perhaps the greatest Biblical scholar of his era, whose career at the Andover Theological Seminary was outstanding, she achieved fame and fortune with her *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. There is a story that when Abraham Lincoln received Mrs. Stowe in the White House in 1862, he exclaimed, "So this is the little lady who made this big war." The author has done a magnificent piece of work in following the hectic life of his subject, through Litchfield, Hartford, Cincinnati, Brunswick, Me., and Andover, and in giving a picture of the times in which she lived without dragging in too much background to befog the true biography. It is a fat volume, but it is never for one moment dull reading, from the date of her birth to her burial beside her husband in the Chapel Cemetery at Andover, Massachusetts. A complete bibliography and a very full index are provided. There are thirty illustrations, including a newly discovered daguerreotype, which is used as a frontispiece. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

THE STORY ON THE WILLOW PLATE. Adapted from the Chinese Legend by Leslie Thomas. With Illustrations by the Author. 1940. 47 pp., square octavo, cloth, illus. New York: William Morrow and Company. Price, \$1.25.

This little volume will be hailed with delight by those who are interested in this fascinating story. This famous blue and white china, which has been used by people all over the world for so many years, has a tale connected with it that is romantic. It will make a pretty gift book at any season.

DESCENDANTS OF MICUM MCINTIRE. A Scottish Highlander, deported by Oliver Cromwell after the Battle of Dunbar, September 3, 1650, and settled at York,

Maine, about 1668. Compiled and published by Robert Harry McIntire. 1940. 158 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle Publishing Company, Inc. Price, \$4.00.

This genealogy includes all the McIntires of this section as well as of other places in New England. It has been compiled with thoroughness and can be recommended to all libraries.

AN ACADEMIC COURTSHIP. Letters of Alice Freeman and George Herbert Palmer, 1886-1887. With an Introduction by Caroline Hazard. 1940. 259 pp., octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$3.00.

This book is strongly reminiscent of Wellesley College and Harvard College in the eighties, besides being a testimony to a delightful courtship between two very important personages,—he a professor at Harvard and she, the president of the then young Wellesley College. Mrs. Palmer's sister, who edited the letters, writes that although in some degree the letters are too intimate to be published, yet "I have come to believe that the letters now in my possession written by him to my sister while she was president of Wellesley College, those written by her in return, and especially the letters written by them after marriage, contain too much of general interest and rare spiritual beauty to remain longer a 'private possession.'" Miss Hazard has written a very understanding introduction. So much of their story centers around Boxford that it will be read with great interest by Essex County people.

WHITTLED BOY. The Story of Eli Whitney. By Roger Burlingame. 1941. 370 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. Price, \$3.00.

This is the first full biography of the inventor of the cotton gin, and with meagre facts to begin with, the author has dug up more source material than his friends ever thought was possible. Born on a farm in Westborough, Massachusetts, Whitney studied law at Yale, astounding the professors by mending a broken astronomical instrument no one else could put together. But it was while teaching in Georgia that he devised his great invention, which has become such a boon to millions of people. In 1798, when war threatened, America prepared for defense and it was Whit-

ney who persuaded the solons at Washington to bring about a revolution in technique, which was the forerunner of today's mass production. An interesting biography of an early engineer. Recommended to all libraries.

SPACE IN MEDIEVAL PAINTING AND THE FORERUNNERS OF PERSPECTIVE. By Miriam Schild Bunim. 1940. 261 pp. large octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Columbia University Press. Price, \$5.00.

As concerns medieval art, this is the first full study of the development of space, which with its corollary, perspective, has proved a fertile field of research for our knowledge of both ancient and Renaissance art. This study traces these types through successive modification from the Carolingian period through the fourteenth century. The author has been granted two successive summer scholarships at the Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie of the University of Paris and has received a fellowship from Columbia University to prepare the manuscript. A grant from the American Council of Learned Societies made possible the publication. The illustrations are especially fine. Strongly recommended to all art libraries.

THE WRITINGS OF MARGARET FULLER. Selected and Edited by Mason Wade. 1941. 608 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: The Viking Press. Price, \$5.00.

The well-known literary critic, Mason Wade, had such success with his recent biography of Margaret Fuller that he has been induced to reproduce some of the best of her writings. He does not consider her a great writer, because she wrote too much and too hastily, but she was rather a literary journalist of no mean ability. Conversation and not the written word was her natural medium, but he has selected a number of her most important works for reprinting. Because she was acknowledged to be one of the best letter-writers of her day, Mr. Wade has reproduced twenty-five letters written to the literary people of the time, some of which have not been available before. Her writings reveal "the constantly expanding horizons of one who began as a Cambridge prodigy and ended, despite grave handicaps of environment and temperament, as a citizen of the world." A section has been devoted to criticism, because Margaret Fuller was one of the best of the earlier American critics. All who read the biography will wish to have this companion volume.

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS. *Treasure Fisherman and Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.* By Alice Lounsberry. 1941. 323 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, \$3.00.

We cannot have too many biographies of New England historical characters, and when it is an especially good one, like this particular volume, we are duly thankful. Born in the wilderness of Maine in 1651, of parents who had emigrated from Bristol, England, Phips early displayed indomitable courage and resourcefulness. He learned to build ships in Maine, and while yet a young man settled in Boston. Before he had been a year in the big metropolis of New England, he startled the wealthy people of the town by marrying a rich widow, the daughter of Capt. Roger Spencer, a man "of good fashion," so said Cotton Mather. His ambition drove him on until he became one of the leading men in Boston, even as he himself had prophesied, "that he should yet be a captain of a King's ship; and that he should come to the command of better men than he accounted himself." His departure for England and his subsequent miraculous recovery of lost treasure in the ocean near the West Indies which loot he brought back to James II who knighted him, his career as Major General of the forces against Port Royal and as the Royal Governor of Massachusetts and his suppression of the witchcraft delusion are all told with zest and precision. His life was a success story if ever there was one. He made enemies, of course, and it was while he was in London, whence he was called to answer some political charges, that he died at the age of forty-four. He was buried in the Church of St. Mary, Lombard Street, where in all probability the lead-covered coffin still reposes under the organ gallery, although the church was shattered by German bombs. Recommended to all libraries.

GOLD RUSH BY SEA. From the Journal of Garrett W. Low. Edited by Kenneth Haney. 1941. 187 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Price, \$3.00.

This diarist left one of the most readable and humorous accounts of the rush to California around the Horn that has been published for many a day. It is edited by his grandson. The voyage from New York was made in the packet-ship *Washington Irving*, after a short trip from upper New York State, beginning in November, 1850. Reach-

ing Valparaiso, the next April, where a tremendous earthquake nearly destroyed the city, they transferred to the *John Bertram*. Low records that she "is a new ship and made a quick passage here notwithstanding she had her mainmast sprung off Cape Horn, and was not able to carry much sail." This vessel was owned in Salem and was registered in Boston. It was built in ninety days for the California trade. An interesting tale of the gold rush days.

FARES, PLEASE! From Horse-Cars to Streamliners. By John Anderson Miller. 1941. 204 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. Price, \$3.50.

The development of transportation during the past hundred years is told here with much detail and a wealth of pictures. There are more than one hundred twenty reproductions of styles of horse-cars, trolleys, cable-cars, and buses from the horse-drawn omnibus of 1827 to the most modern of buses. There is romance in the story and the author tells much concerning vivid personalities connected with the transit business which adds to the interest. There is a bibliography and a good index. This book will be welcomed by those interested in railroads—and the many collectors of transportation photographs in this country.

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STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS

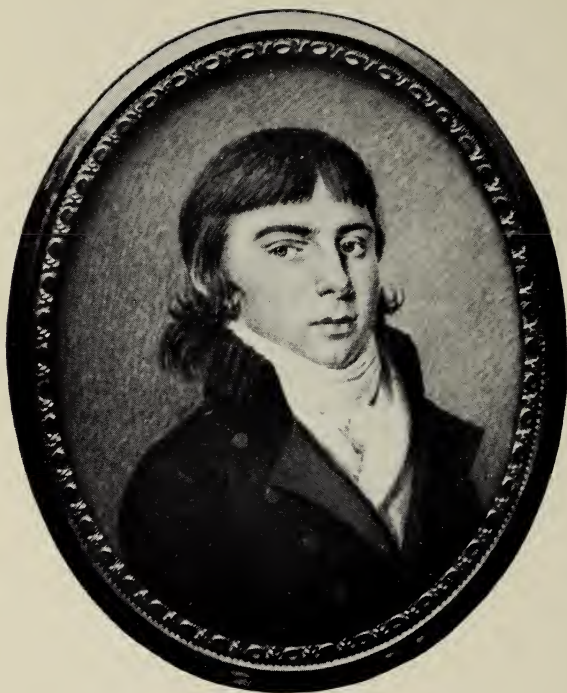
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD WATERS

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CAPT. JOSEPH ORNE

1778 - 1806

From a Miniature in possession of the Essex Institute

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No. 4

LOSS OF THE SHIP *ESSEX* IN 1806.

BY JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS.

In October, 1806, news reached Salem that William Orne's ship *Essex* had been captured by Arab pirates, the captain and crew all murdered and the ship plundered and destroyed.

In the second edition of *Felt's Annals*, ii, 320, the following account is given:—

News that Capt. Joseph Orne in the ship *Essex* had arrived at Mocha with \$60,000 in specie to purchase coffee; that Mahomet Ikle, commander of an armed ship, persuaded him to trade at Hadido and to take on board thirty of his Arabs to help navigate her thither while his vessel kept her company; that on the approach of night and at a concerted signal the Arabs attacked the crew of the *Essex* and Ikle laid his ship alongside; that the result was the slaughter of Capt. Orne and all his men except a Dutch boy, John Herman Poll. The *Essex* was plundered and burnt. The headless corpse of Capt. Orne and the mutilated remains of a merchant floated ashore and were buried. It was soon ascertained that the faithless Mahomet was a notorious pirate in that country. He kept the lad whom he spared as a slave till 1812 when death freed him from his bondage.

Dr. Bentley gives substantially the same account in his diary and no doubt from the same source but after commenting on the captain, who was the son of an old friend of his, he sees fit to remark, "It is said of his uncle that upon the news, he observed, well the ship is insured. Is it possible?" As Mr. William Orne was a Federalist this particularly nasty remark can doubtless

be attributed to the political animosity which Dr. Bentley felt for all political opponents (*Bentley's Diary*, iii, 258).

In 1805 the *Essex* had been to Manila and reached Salem in May loaded with sugar and indigo. The duties on her cargo amounted to \$18,443. This was a most successful trip; but eight ships had arrived from Mocha that year with profitable cargoes and no doubt William Orne wished to share in these successful operations. Three ships entered from Mocha in 1806 which belonged to George Crowninshield and Sons, so the trade to that port was just at its height when William Orne sent out the *Essex* with her \$60,000 in specie to buy coffee.

What really happened is contained in a transcript of a letter without date written apparently between 1815 and 1825 by the captain of a ship from Newburgh, New York, which is in the Bentley manuscripts at the American Antiquarian Society. It is as follows:—

While at Mocha, I had many interviews with John Porl, or Poll, who was a boy belonging to the Ship *Essex*, Captain Joseph Orne of Salem, which vessel having been cut off and all her crew murdered, has for a long time interested the feelings of the American publick. His story is as follows, The vessel arrived at Aden for information; here Capt. Orne found an Englishman, who informed him, that no Coffee was to be procured at Mocha; but advised him to go up to Loheia, and at the same time offered his services as pilot & interpreter; Capt. Orne influenced by this advice, accepted his offer, and proceeded to Loheia, where he arrived without stopping at Mocha & succeeded in procuring some Coffee, but not enough for a Cargo, on which account, after lying there two months he had determined to go down to Mocha. On the day previous to his intended departure, he had a dispute with the Xeriff Hahmoud, the Governour or petty prince of Loheia. The Xeriff demanded \$200 for Port-Charges; Captain Orne thinking this an extortionary sum, refused to pay more than \$100; but at length the affair was compromised for \$150. On the same night, on which this settlement was effected, Capt. Orne and four of his crew being ashore, John Porl, who was Cabin-

boy on board, was ordered to keep a look-out for the Captain & all hands went below. At about 11 or 12 o'clock, Porl saw a boat approaching the ship; he announced this to the first officer, who merely answered "that it must be the Captain," yet neither he, nor anyone else arose to receive him. When Porl came upon deck again, he found two boats one on each side of the vessel. The ship was immediately boarded by a number of Caffres and soldiers, during which the Officers & Crew came upon deck, & were told by the boarders that Captⁿ Orne wished them to go ashore, to which the Officers objected as improbable. Porl was then led below and shut up in the Cabin. While below, he heard no groans or struggles, nor when permitted to go on deck, did he perceive any clots of blood or other marks by which he could suppose that the murderous transaction had taken place on board the ship. He enquired of a Lascar, where were his Officers & shipmates, and was told that they had gone ashore. Not satisfied with this answer, he searched throughout the vessel, and not finding anything to relieve his fear and anxiety, he again enquired of the Lascar, who only gave him vague and evasive answers, but told him that no harm should happen to him and in a kind & friendly manner endeavoured to console him in his affliction. A vessel belonging to Sayd Mohammad Ebu Akeel, was lying at the Island of Cameran at this time & Akeel himself was at Loheia and his crew composed part of those by whom the ship was boarded, & the rest either actually were soldiers or availed themselves of their dress as a disguise. The *Essex* was taken to the Island of Cameran & there sunk or destroyed. Poll was taken care of by the above mentioned Lascar, who presented him to Sayd Akeel by whom he was told, that provided he would take the turban & submit to circumcision, his life would be saved. Several of the people about the person of Akeel murmured at this decision & endeavoured to convince him of the policy of putting Poll to death for the general safety. The wife of Akeel however, interceded in his favour & to her was he indebted for his life. He was then carried to Muscat & thence to Dofar, of which last place the Sayd was Sheik or Governour. On board

Akeel's vessel he saw two Guns, and a number of books, which he is confident formerly belonged to the *Essex*. He also found a French Renegado in the service of Akeel who was very kind to him & always behaved towards him in a generous & friendly manner; but who when pressed upon the subject of the fate of the unfortunate crew of the *Essex*, uniformly refused to satisfy his enquiries. Porl feels assured however that they were all murdered, as he has never been able to gain any intelligence respecting them, since this horrid catastrophe took place; whereas had they been enslaved or otherwise disposed of, he would have discovered the fact. This was also corroborated by the testimony of an Arab, who declared that he saw Mr. Carter, the Englishman, whom he well knew, and all the Officers and Crew of the *Essex*, on the Island of Cameran, with their throats cut from ear to ear! How he became a witness to this bloody spectacle, I could not discover & Poll says that he does not know what became of the money taken from the *Essex*; he thinks however that a considerable part was retained by the Xeriff Hahmoud & the remainder by the Sayd Akeel. He states that the Sayd Mohammad Ebu Akeel is sheik of Dofar & is possessed of great wealth. He had several wives, but no children & has adopted Poll as his son, who with the brother of Akeel residing at Mocha, will probably inherit his extensive possessions. His treatment toward Poll has been marked with the most parental affectionate kindness & though allowing him but little money, had always supplied him with the necessaries & comforts of life. He has given him a slave in marriage, by whom he has two children, to whom he is most tenderly attached. Concerning the destruction of the *Essex*, his recollection appeared to be clear & distinct, but the loss in a great degree of his native language, through the want of practice (this being the first time he had conversed with any Christians since the murder of his countrymen & shipmates,) rendered it difficult for him to express it in an intelligible manner, and it was only by dint of the most persevering enquiries, that the above incomplete accounts of that dark transaction was obtained. Concerning his native Country, he has but few imperfect ideas; time and

a constant association with the Arabs have effaced from his memory the scenes of his early life, & probably pains have been taken by his wily protector, to obliterate from his mind all remembrance of his youthful impressions. His conversation & replies however evinced no ordinary talents & his observations & remarks appeared the result of much natural sense & considerable reflection. It may be observed that Captain Austin & myself, offered him every assistance in our power & used many arguments to induce him to return to his native country & assured him of our protection should he feel so inclined. He answered to this that during the lifetime of Akeel, this was absolutely impossible. That his two children, whom he loved better than life or liberty himself, were retained as hostages by his artful guardian, who had also bound him by a most solemn oath, again to return to Dofar. He said that he felt himself strongly attached to his native country & vehemently desired to return thither; but that until the death of Akeel, to which he seemed to look forward as an event that must occur at no very distant period, he must endeavor to forget these patriotick feelings amid the pleasures & endearments of his domestick life. He states that about 6 years ago he was brought to Mocha in a vessel of Akeel's. An American ship the name of which I could not discover, was lying in the roads at the time. One morning, observing the boat of the American rowing towards them Porl was ordered below & confined in the Cabin. When the boat had left the ship, he learned that he himself had been the object of their search. He observed that unfortunately the ship was lying to windward of him, but had the reverse been the case, no earthly power should have prevented his throwing himself overboard & endeavouring, by swimming, to have gained an asylum & protection among his countrymen. He was 9½ years old at the time of the destruction of the *Essex*, which he thinks must have been in February 1806. His Mohammadan name is Abdallah Mohammad to which the name of his patron is sometimes added. The circumspect Akeel, has been careful to educate him in the principles of the religion of Mohammad & taken the most artful means to banish from his mind all recollections of his

native local attachments & affections. Porl complained that the Arabs taunt & reproach him with the imbecility of the American Government, in suffering this nefarious & high handed offence, against the United States and the religion of Christ to go unpunished.

He states that the City of Dofar is a place of some note, but not so large as Mocha, that it is walled & that the inhabitants are generally engaged in petty warfares with the Bedouin Arabs & on this account are always armed. Large vessels cannot approach very near but the Daous & other smaller craft, anchor within a quarter of a mile from the City. The Dolah of Mocha, being interrogated concerning the effect an attack upon Dofar would have upon the American Commerce in the Red Sea, replied that "Dofar being an independent province & only submissive to the authority of Akeel, any measures that might be taken relative to the apprehension of the villian, on the destruction of his City, could have no effect whatever upon any commerce with the other independent provinces of Arabia."

Signed Chas. Cook Sr. Commander of
Brig *Syren* of Newburg.

Not in hand of Cook

4 pp. 31½cm. x 20cm.

This account varies decidedly in its details from the account brought to Salem soon after the event but the substantial facts that all the crew except the boy were murdered and the ship destroyed after she had been looted, remain the same. Perhaps more blame attaches to the captain in this final account than in the earlier one.

The *Salem Register* of October 30, 1806, gives the horrible details of Captain Orne's murder as follows: The ship *Essex*, Orne, of Salem, having arrived at Mocha, with 60,000 dollars to purchase a cargo of coffee, and finding none could be had at market, was at a loss how to proceed, when an English merchant advised him to proceed 60 miles further up to a town called Hadido, where he said Coffee could be obtained at a lower rate than at Mocha, and offered to go and execute the whole business for only 2 1-2 per cent commission. This advice was agreed to. The pirate Mahomed Ikle, who was at

Mocha at the time, by some means came to the knowledge of all their circumstances and had the address to persuade Capt. Orne to receive on board about 30 of his crew to help to navigate the vessel, and pilot her to Haddido. The *Essex* sailed in company with the pirate's ship; night approached, but, alas! not one of the unfortunate crew were fated to behold their country again, or the sight of another day. At a given signal, the pirates on board fell upon the crew with their knives, the *Corsair* ranged along side, and in a few minutes not an American was left to tell the sad tale of their destruction. The headless body of the captain, and the mutilated carcasses of the Englishmen floated on shore, and being recognized received the rites of burial in a far distant land. The *Essex* was plundered and burned. The Mahomed Ikle sails in a strong, well-armed vessel, with a numerous crew, made up of fanatics like himself, and enemies to every nation, excepting their own, the Wahabees. Mahomed is said to be distinguished for his enormities on the Red Sea.

The whole episode is interesting as showing the great dangers our early captains were subject to in their far eastern voyages and their great skill and courage in bringing so many voyages to a successful conclusion, in spite of a few catastrophes like this one. The varied accounts show how difficult it was to learn the truth about such affairs.

(NOTE. I am much indebted to Mr. Clarence S. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society for kindly providing me with a copy of the letter of the Commander of the *Syren*.)

DIARY OF MARY ORNE TUCKER, 1802.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF
THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

This diary is brief in respect to the length of time it was kept, but quite expansive in the amount of detail recorded. It is herewith published, not so much for the importance of the information it contains, but from the fact that it gives a rather typical picture of the life of a well-bred woman of the early nineteenth century. Of course, from our viewpoint, it is stilted, exaggerated and lugubrious in tone. Nevertheless, it is true to form and worth preserving.

Mary Orne Tucker was the first wife of Ichabod Tucker, who lived in Haverhill when the diary was written, but who later removed to Salem where he was Clerk of the Courts of Essex County. Mrs. Tucker was the daughter of Dr. Joseph and Mary (Leavitt) Orne, and was born in Haverhill in 1775. She had been married four years when she commenced the diary and was then twenty-six years of age. Her writing of nearly one hundred fifty years ago presents a strong contrast to the times in which we live. She had been educated to enjoy the best literature of her day and she expressed herself in good English, with frequent references to the classics with which she seemed familiar. She was happy in her domestic life and gave generously of herself in devotion to her family and friends, who were among the prominent families of Essex County. For a small community like the Haverhill of 1800, which had a population of only about 2700, there seems to have been a surprising number of families of culture and education. Mary Orne Tucker died in Salem on December 14, 1806, at the age of thirty-one years. It has been said that her death was caused by the news of the murder of her brother on the Red Sea, during an attack by pirates.

A special obituary in the *Salem Gazette*, a quite un-

1 See *E. I. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 74, p. 109.



MRS. NATHANIEL PEASLEE SARGENT (MARY PICKERING)
Sister of Timothy Pickering and grandmother of Mary (Orne) Tucker
1735 - 1805

From a portrait by Joseph Badger in possession of Mrs. John Pickering

usual procedure for those days, characterized her, in part, as follows "She seemed peculiarly formed to exhibit the finest affections of the human heart, combined with the charms of mental and moral beauty. She was the delight and pride of her friends. Her conversation, always sensible, was enlivened by that species of wit, which penetrates without leaving wound or scar. For the unfortunate she had a soothing voice, an open heart and a ready hand. As a neighbor she was beloved. As a friend, she proved that friendship is something more than a name. As a mother, her bosom beat with parental tenderness, though her children were two of the offspring of others, adopted that she might exercise the duties of a parent. As a sister, greatly affectionate, to which, Alas! the circumstances of her death bear testimony too striking. Her loss must be felt by the indigent, the widow and the orphan, particularly those of the Female Charitable Society in this town, of which she was a zealous and active member."

1802.

April 11. The weather this day has been cold and blustering. Mr. Abbot preached in the morning; the subject, Godly and worldly sorrow—an excellent sermon affording great consolation to those who mourn for their sins. Between the services of this hallowed day, Sally Ayer² was interred; I attended the house of mourning, and found it better than the house of feasting. A particular address to the choir of singers of which she was a pleasant member, and that she was beloved many tears roll'd, warm witnesses. Sally Ayer had numbered only twenty one years—lovely and beloved. This afternoon, Mary and Sally Sargeant³ were proposed to join the Church in this place. I have had many conversations with Sally on this important subject; if I am not greatly mistaken, her heart is much engaged in the sacred cause. I have been charmed with her humility—and have re-

² Daughter of Dea. Moses and Martha (Kimball) Ayer.

³ Daughters of Nathaniel Peaslee and Rhoda (Barnard) Sargeant. He was graduated from Harvard in 1750 and practiced law in Haverhill, becoming later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

spected those tears which flow'd for past follies. I venture to predict she will be an ornament to that Religion she is about to profess. Mary is more reserved on every subject — she is naturally solemn and collected. It is a source of new and great happiness to me that she is about to join the little band of Christians who profess themselves the disciples of our common master. After meeting we read the sacred scriptures — our conversation some part of the time, was as becometh Christians. I lament with the deepest humility that I do not pay such sacred regard at all times to holy seasons as I ought.

April 12. This morning I arose with the sun. I read two sections in "Addison's Evidence of the Christian Religion." The Remainder of this day I have past delightfully; the hours from three till sunset alone with Elizabeth Pickman,⁴ sweet saint. Our conversation on religious subjects without gloom, and free from a shadow of superstition. I think myself particularly fortunate, that I have such a friend lent me — may her early piety, her sweet temper and disposition be copied in my life and manners. This evening we spent in the manner recommended to us by our spiritual Instructor. A small number of professing Christians met in my chamber. Mrs. Bartlett,⁵ Mrs. Abbot,⁶ Sally and Mary Sargeant,⁷ Mary and Ann Harrod,⁸ Anna Willis,⁹ Mary Sparhawk,¹⁰ Elizabeth P[ickman] and myself; our conversation on the Per-

4 Daughter of William and Elizabeth (Leavitt) Pickman, who married Daniel Abbot, a distinguished lawyer of Nashua, and died in Nashua, Mar. 29, 1850.

5 Margaret (White), wife of the Hon. Bailey Bartlett, member of Congress, and with a long career as sheriff of Essex County.

6 Eunice (Wales), wife of the Rev. Abiel Abbot, pastor of the First Congregational Church.

7 Mary died in 1808, ae. 37 yrs. and Sally died in 1803, ae. 29 yrs. Both died unmarried.

8 Daughters of Joseph and Anna (Treat) Harrod. Ann married Thomas Boylston Adams of Quincy in 1805, and Mary married William Greenough of Boston, in 1811.

9 Daughter of Benjamin Willis, one of the principal merchants of the town. She married Dr. Aaron Kinsman of Portland in 1802.

10 Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk, daughter of Nathaniel and Betsey (Bartlett) Sparhawk, married Hon. William Jarvis in 1808, and lived in Weathersfield, Vermont.

fections of Deity, our constant dependence and what duties are required of us. Mrs. Bartlett is an unfortunate, amiable woman; on sacred subjects she is too enthusiastic, owing I think to her imperfect reason. I never look at her but the most serious reflections shade my mind; in her lucid intervals she is the best of wives and mothers, but her extreme liability to nervous affections corrects our pleasure even in her best moments of self collection. Mrs. Abbot has every grace and every virtue for her portion that commands esteem and admiration, chearful on common topics, but oh, when religion is the theme how animated she is; her eyes are the heralds of her speech and beam benignity and love — from her conversation in the hours sacred to serious reflections, I expect much pleasure and improvement. Sally and Mary Sargeant are good girls, I am too partial to form a just judgment. Mary and Ann Harrod, I rank among my choicest friends. Mary is sensible, correct and possesses uncommon powers of entertainment; her piety is ardent, sometimes almost enthusiastic. Ann, the graces of her person which seems formed by nature's nicest hand, are excelled by the graces of her mind; her voice is harmony, and her conversation discovers sound sense and solid judgment; they have early stepped forth as champions in their Redeemer's cause, and seem to deserve more credit as they had not in their own family, that "living law", Example to animate and influence them. Ann Willis is a girl of sterling sense. I can scarcely tell which preponderates in my opinion, the goodness of her heart, or the excellency of her understanding. Mary Sparhawk is made up of gentleness and love; her life has been short but mark'd by some circumstances peculiarly distressing, but she has borne adversity with cheerful resignation the remainder of her days, I hope she will have occasion to rejoice in prosperity. Thus have I, impartially, I think drawn the picture of the little group who have determined to pass one evening in every week in the contemplation of Heavenly and divine things.

April 13. The weather this morning was uncommonly disagreeable; the wind from the southeast. I have so much health, it is almost wicked for me to complain of

wind and weather, but I confess with all humility that my cheerfulness depends too much on sunshine, and though my nerves are not very finely attenuated yet I feel an east wind in every vein. A walk with Elizabeth seemed to reanimate me; we passed some time with my husband at his office, my tranquility was compleat, there is so much complacency in his smile, so much piety in his eye that the gloom on my mind, must be two fold darkness when his presence ceases to enliven me. In our ramble this morning we past an hour with my Grandmother¹¹ — infirmities are “thick upon her”, and I think I may venture to add “she knows it not”; her bodily health has suffer’d scarcely any interruption for many years, but her strength of mind is reduced almost to an infant’s weakness. The traces of former beauty are still visible; her eye is bright and mild, and has part of the same charming expression which her Heavenly Father smil’d when he gave her — but a beautiful fabric in ruins must excite the most melancholy sensation in every reflecting mind. We spent the afternoon of this day, at Mr. Harrod’s; their family have recovered that serenity which was greatly interrupted by the death of little James, much sooner that I feared! Mrs. Harrod has great powers of entertainment, a considerable share of original wit, and full of anecdote. The subjects of conversation were various. This evening Mr. Osgood¹² deliver’d Elizabeth letters from Salem, fill’d with incidents various. That which seems most deeply to interest is a connection between our two cousins, John Pickering and Sally White. John is one of the finest of men with great natural parts, improved by every advantage which education can give. Sally has passed her days in the shade of retirement but even these many virtues and graces have ripened to perfection; she has every quality necessary for a good wife,

11 Mrs. Nathaniel Peaslee Sargent, who was a sister of Timothy Pickering, and had married, first, Rev. Dudley Leavitt. She died in Haverhill, Jan. 30, 1805.

12 Isaac Osgood of North Andover, one time Clerk of the Courts for the County of Essex. He brought the news of the engagement of John, son of Col. Timothy Pickering, who became an eminent philologist, and Sally White, daughter of Isaac and Sarah (Leavitt) White of Salem.

and the gentlemen of New England are so domestic, that it is much more important a woman should shine in the nursery, than in learned dispositions, which are not always profitable, and she is certainly much more lovely in the discharge of duties which Heaven and Nature point out for the sex than in aping that monster which Mary Walstomwaft has dress'd in a woman's garb. I think this piece of intelligence, of intended union of our two cousins, has lighted up a spark of almost youthful fire in the countenance of my grandmother; the happiness of her children is very near her heart, and anxiety for their welfare is more alive than any other feeling. Eliza mentions in her letter the death of old Mr. Curwen,¹³ he has descended to the grave full of years, like a shock of corn fully ripe. I believe he enjoy'd much, for "by reason of strength" he numbered twenty years more than his "Threescore and ten"; yet their strength was not "labour and sorrow"—a youth of temperance prepared for him the pleasures of a green old age.

April 14. The weather this morning was fine; if I were romantic, the situation in which I live, and the joyful song of birds this charming day might also incline me to poetry, but the muses never honor me with a visit, and I am too proud and too indolent to solicit their smile.

April 15. The sun rose this morning with more than common brightness, yet the weather is still unusually cold; but when everything is tranquil within, even the winds of April have not the power to disturb us. This morning I had a visit from Mrs. Abbot; her presence at all seasons welcome to me, today it was particularly so; she came the welcome messenger of her husband's consent to have the sermon published which he delivered last Sabbath, on the death of Sally Ayer; it was at the particular request of the females of his flock; I consider it one among the greatest blessings which concur to render my situation in life delightful that I can call him my pastor—he is the kind of preacher Cowper would describe when he says, Paul should direct him—I have many reasons to love Mr. Abbot—our acquaintance began in early

¹³ Samuel Curwen, the Loyalist, who went to England during the Revolution, but returned to Salem after the peace.

life, when everything pleased; each succeeding year has given him a higher station in my friendship than the last. He married me, and I think I subscribed to the solemn words love, honor and cherish, with more confidence than if any other had pronounced them. This afternoon I shall spend at my Grandmother's. I have no expectation of much enjoyment, as there will probably be a mixed company. . . . This afternoon, as I expected, passed without much rational enjoyment; my Grandmother has not her usual health, was less talkative, consequently less agreeable than commonly, for though I have in a former page lamented the infirmities of her mind, yet there is still so much vigor remaining, that at times even now she is a most charming companion. I am not certain but her very weaknesses bind her nearer to my heart while reason holds her throne, and memory, precious storehouse, remains unimpaired; the gratitude I owe her will be written as with the point of a diamond, on the living "tablets of my heart" cast upon her tenderness at an age when I most wanted protection; I every day experienced it. I scarcely know the value of my parents for I was too young to realize my loss when they breathed their last farewells in this chequered world; and so sweetly did my Grandmother watch my helpless childhood that on my account I had never any reason to regret their early death. On theirs I have every reason to rejoice, for so great was their catalogue of living virtues, I humbly hope they are "Saints in Heaven."

April 16. Good Friday. This day is not observed by all Christians. I am told the Roman Catholics keep it as a solemn fast. I can't tell why their good example in this particular is not more generally followed—perhaps it is objected that it has never been made a matter of certainty, that this is the very day on which our Redeemer suffered; but as it cannot certainly be denied, and that he has suffered and died, we all believe why should not this day which many Christians have agreed on be observed by all? but my reasoning would be weak as an infants opposed to stiff heads and empty hearts, who insist so much on calculations nice; I can say for my own part, I hail'd the light of this morning with feel-

ings peculiarly solemnized. This day I have passed at home with Elizabeth; this is the fourth day we have watched every hour for Eliza—this is the “hope deferred which maketh sick the heart.”

April 17. I have with Sally Sargeant been endeavouring to get a subscription for publishing the Sermon, Mr. Abbot addressed to the young; we have succeeded far beyond my expectations, but 'tis an unthankful office; some who subscribed ten cents for this excellent discourse appeared to do it with the air of one about conferring a great favor—ah thought I, what a paltry sum. We called on Mrs. Bartlett, she appeared delighted with our errand, and conversed with all that energy which particularly marks her conversation on subjects of religion. We past half an hour pleasantly with Mrs. Ben Willis; she shines in the hours of sickness, and distress. She is very high in my good opinion; if she were equally yoked in life I know few women I should think more respectable; to be sure the disagreeable qualities of her husband do not detract from her merit, but it seems a reflection on her taste, that she should chose such a companion to brave the storms of life; poor girl, I believe the most trying storms she has ever encountered are those which sometimes gather on his angry brow. I rejoice that the knot which binds me, was not tied with any mercenary feelings, and that my heart is under the same sweet subjection as my hand; this, according to the modern notions of marriage, might seem strange language, from one who has seen the revolution of more than forty moons, since that waxed, and waned, which lovers call the honey-moon; it is nevertheless the language of my soul. I was married with very few romantic notions of happiness; I had read Madam Roubignes' excellent letter to her daughter too often, and with too much attention, to suppose that my husband would prove an exception to her general rule that “there is a delusion in them which cannot abide with possession”; I expected that like many other excellent good men, the attentions of the lover, would be lost, or at least abated in the husband—but I did not calculate as I ought; I can join with Madam Roubigne, “I pray to be made a better wife, when I would say a more “be-

loved one, my utterance fails me for a word"— This is the birthday of my lord and master; today he has numbered thirty seven years; some wrinkles appear; may they never be channels for any tears, but those of joy and gratitude, in prosperity, mild pity for the sufferings of another; or of meek resignation in his own affliction— some white hairs too, are mixed with the few, which shade his precious head; the little beauty which I once possessed is fast fading too, but I know I am not losing my station in his esteem, his love. Elizabeth and myself drank tea this afternoon with our Grandmother.

April 18. I must follow the counsel of my Instructor, and shun vain conversation and books which are usher'd into the world under the title of novels; I have been foolish enough to seek such books with avidity, and have shed those tears for Clementina's or Clarissa's woes; which should have flow'd for my own follies; If I do not flatter myself, my relish for such foolish tales is greatly abated; they are calculated to soften, but not correct the heart; they cheat us of tears for fictitious sorrow; which are due to the maimed, the halt, and the blind, objects which real life each passing day presents to our views. My resolution at present is to read no more such idle stories. This day has been uncommonly peaceful to me till this afternoon; we had an interesting visitor; I do not like visits on the sabbath; we have all sufficient to attend to at home; and those who are so idle as to neglect such duties are not among those I should choose for my companions on any day; much less on the sabbath, and such are the very busy bodies who interrupt the hours, sacred to religious retirement. Sally Sargeant, Elizabeth, and myself passed a pleasant evening; our conversation on the duties of each passing day particularly the sabbath; we lamented the coldness with which we perform every duty, and the imperfection which attends our best services. Caleb Brooks LeBosquet¹⁴ and wife were proposed to join the church this afternoon; peculiarly hard have been the duties of this excellent young man; the

¹⁴ He was son of John and Sarah LeBosquet, French neutrals, born in Nantucket in 1770; married Olivia Lampson in Haverhill in 1799; and died there in 1845, aged 75 years.



ICHABOD TUCKER

Husband of Mary (Orne) Tucker

1765 - 1846

From a portrait in possession of the Essex Institute

reformation of a profligate father is a singular and difficult task; he has almost accomplished it, yet has always treated him with delicacy, and the most perfect respect, he has rare talents; I like everything I have ever heard of him; he will, or I greatly mistake, be a good soldier, in that Christian warfare, in which he is now enlisted, his wife is an amiable, modest woman; I rejoice in this addition to our little church.

April 19th. Today the weather has been extremely pleasant; Elizabeth has gone to Plastow with Sally Sergeant. I am in my chamber alone; a situation very pleasant and familiar to me. I fancy few persons who have number'd only twenty six years have passed so many of them alone—but they are not tedious to me yet; I am naturally social, cheerful, and sometimes gay. This love of solitude may possibly grow into a habit, and render me disagreeable to my friends to whom I owe much. The very title of Zimmerman's elegant treatise on solitude has, I have been told, prevented some modern fine ladies from reading it; poor souls, they can never know how much they have lost, therefore are not subjects of pity; indeed I question whether the perusal of these pages could afford entertainment to any one who could not read the title page without alarm. In my humble opinion, Zimmerman is a charming writer; his periods to equal honor to his head and heart, and convey equal instruction to his readers; he writes like an unfortunate, not a disappointed man, and appears as far from a misanthrope, as any writer on fashionable life and manners. This morning I sent my little pensioner¹⁵ to school; I find this little object grows every day nearer to my heart; I am partial no doubt, but I think I discover in this rising cherub all the graces and virtues which adorn her sex; her understanding is far beyond her years; her memory retentive, her sensibility exquisite; the graces of her person I mention last, as of least importance; but if a just judgment can be formed from her infant features, she will have sufficient beauty to please; all beyond is unnecessary and often dangerous. 'Twas a seeming accident

¹⁵ Was this Nancy Gay, who was reared in the family of Ichabod Tucker?

that brought this gem to light for she was born in the dark scenes of guilt and poverty. Her musical talents at first recommended her; to see such a poor little miserable dance and sing was a proof of the equal distributions of providence; the child of a king could not have appear'd happier, yet 'twas affecting, it reminded one of the poor widow who sang gay ballads through the street, to collect money for the burial of her husband.

April 20th. This day my husband has gone to court, his absence always casts a dark shade over all our home bred pleasures; but his business makes it frequently his duty to be from home; these little absences heighten the pleasure which his society gives. Sally Sargeant passed this forenoon with us, she is a good girl, our conversation as always appears most pleasant to her, in solemn truths; Betsey read aloud to us the leaves of this book, blotted with things insignificant; she is such a partial girl; partial even to my foibles; that she thought these dull pages might amuse a passing hour; we might have spent it much more profitable, but we do not always improve as we ought each moment as it passes. Sally Sargeant and myself spent an hour this afternoon with Sally Eames; disease is making slow but certain progress on her tender frame; her eye is mild, bright, penetrating, but 'tis that kind of brightness which too surely marks that it will too soon be closed forever. Mary White¹⁶ partook tea with us. She is one of the few near relatives which Heaven has lent, and she has been in some degree estranged from me by an unhappy disagreement between her mother and myself; I lament any difference in a family; nothing can be more disgraceful; I have thought my temper peaceful, but by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances, I have been involved in one unhappy instance; it is easy to plead guiltless to one who cannot search the heart; in family quarrels as well as all others both parties are generally in fault, we owe too partial judges of ourselves, and too apt to form an unjust judgment of others. Mary White has I think improved very

16 Mary White, daughter of Capt. John and Elizabeth (Haynes) White, born in Methuen in 1784. She was sister of Daniel Appleton White of Salem.

much in the course of the last year in her mind and manners; I am pleased with many of her observations, they savour of piety and benevolence, we passed the twilight in sober chat.

April 21st. Elizabeth and I passed this forenoon without a third person, and without interruption except of the domestic kind. These are golden days, I grudge them as they pass so swiftly, I shall too soon lose the society of Elizabeth; what a blank will the loss of her sprightly conversation occasion in my enjoyment, she has been so long with me and seems so interwoven with all my plans of happiness, they will seem of but little worth without her; but her father has higher claims; I owe him much for his indulgence in sparing her so long for she is almost the only prop which Heaven has left him whereon to lean in his declining days; and I know he sacrifices much when he loses her from his presence; I had quite a girlish ramble this afternoon with Sally and Mary Sargeant; and Betsey Wales;¹⁷ but by the fatigue I feel in every bone, I find I am not so young as I was once, when such rural pastime afforded so much delight. I have hunted every field for evergreen to deck my humble dwelling; I shall be as fine as an Indian Queen against the return of her Husband; anything to make his home pleasant to him. I am proud to believe it will need no new ornament for him, while I smile a welcome. We call'd this afternoon on an old woman in extreme poverty, who has long been acquainted in our family, and on that account feels privileg'd to talk as much as she pleases; I listen'd to her talk of sorrow and pitied that poverty which I have not the power to relieve. I would have done all that Sterne did with all his fine feelings I would have "bid God bless her" but that would not have satisfied present hunger. It is well to visit the abodes of poverty sometimes, it should teach us that the wants of simple nature are few and should excite gratitude that our portion is allotted us under circumstances more comfortable; I was pleased to see in this obscure dwelling, a very decent bible. We drank tea with Grandmama

¹⁷ Betsey Wales was probably sister of Eunice, wife of Rev. Abiel Abbot.

and to divert her, related the adventures of the afternoon; not visionary to be sure like Don Quixote's but I fancy we were as much subdued by fatigue as he was after his battle with the windmill; we told her of our visit to the old lady, and gave her some anecdotes which she related to us of her youthful days which excited considerable mirth; we lamented her poverty and agreed that the indigent world might be cloathed from the trimmings of the "vain," but who will set the example, to curtail a skirt or sacrifice a feather, that the hungry may be fed and the naked cloathed. I passed this day alone with Elizabeth, a few passing friends called on us, compliments exchanged with more civility than sincerity, but courtesy is almost a virtue, and it is well to conform to the rules of good breeding where they do not infringe on truth, it wont do to be quakers quite, unless we are willing to wear their broad brimmed hats, and plain lawn caps; no matter for the cut and color of our garments, if we but copy their peaceable temper in our lives and conversations; there are many tennets in the religion of the Quakers which I approve; there are some among their few ceremonies exceedingly impressive; their marriages are solemn beyond any others I have ever observed, they pledge their faith before such a cloud of witnesses, that they seem bound by a triple tie; their sweet charity to the unfortunate, will fill a bright page for them in Heaven's Register. We spent this forenoon with our grandmother, her affection, and infirmities give her a great claim to much of our time; I have not seen her so chearful for many days—our conversation was trifling; I wish it was worth remembering—but such as it was, she was amused and to light up a smile in her face, while under the oppression of disease—is of considerable worth and importance.

April 24. This day has passed very rapidly; I have been shopping with Elizabeth, thus my poor husband toils days for what his vain wife spends in an hour, but he is so indulgent, he grudges no cost to gratify her pride. We call'd on Nancy Harrod with pleasure which I cannot express; I greet her returning health; sweet girl, she has suffered much, but her piety checks the rising mur-

mur in sickness or health, in society or retirement, she is most lovely among the loveliest of her sex; were I, as Sir Clement Willoughby says, a marrying man, I should prefer her with only her personal property to almost any other—with the world for a dowry. . . . My heart would incline me to stay at home with my little pensioner who has two romping companions to frolic with her. I should not interrupt them for I am extremely well calculated to sport with little children; they are at least harmless company and not at all times uninteresting—important to the task of those who have the charge of them; it is a burden pleasingly oppressive on my mind, to train up one little heir of immortality. She promises at present to reward all my labours of love.

April 25. The sacred rites of this hallowed day has not been interrupted by company or unnecessary employment. I have attended meeting all day, Parson Thayer of Kingston led us in our devotions; I dined alone with my husband; his society always prevents the wish for any other; today after six days absence it was particularly grateful. Dudley Pickman¹⁸ came this afternoon for Elizabeth; I was glad to see Dudley, tho' the errand on which he came must sadly interrupt my domestic happiness. He is a sensible well informed young man, had his education such as his father in more prosperous days would have bestowed; he would I think have shone among the first of his Country's sons. Betsey doats on him with unutterable fondness; but it is not strange, no doubt he is much endeared, since Death broke in on their little Orphan circle, and robb'd them of a brother; a brother too most tenderly beloved, the virtues of this unfortunate boy will live in my memory till time shall write stop, on the pulsations of my heart. The sad stroke which deprived him of being, bound the brother and sister which was spar'd; bound them to each other and to their remaining parent by stronger ties of love. The morning of Elizabeth's days has been overcast; but her

¹⁸ Son of William and Elizabeth (Leavitt) Pickman. Mrs. Pickman was daughter of Rev. Dudley and Mary (Pickering) Leavitt. The Pickmans had a son William, who was drowned at sea from one of Capt. Stephen Phillips' vessels, at the age of twenty-one.

prospects of futurity are bright; there is a friend which sticketh closer than a brother, it has been her fortune to select such an one, as promises a realization of all the joys of domestic life; it will be her brightest ambition to shine as a good wife and if I am not too partial to form a just judgment I think she has every property necessary for such an honorable and important station; the habits of economy she has acquired in our cottage on the hill she will find very useful if her husband should be a poor man, and if fortune should crown him with all her honors, they will not even then be disgraceful.

April 26th. I were ungrateful to murmur, tho' I remain alone of all my domestic circle, for high health paints my cheek and my reason remains without interruption and even this dull day has been distinguished by some circumstances particularly animating. I have had the pleasure to shake hands with a friend very dear to me, whom I have not seen for many months; I have had the happiness to see that health illumine every feature in his fine face though since I last saw him he has been so much reduced by sickness that faint hopes were scarcely cherished of his recovery. I met him today with more than usual pleasure tho the welcome he always receives from me comes warm from the heart; except my husband and my brother, there is not of all his sex, one so high in my esteem; some circumstances mark'd our early friendship, which secures it on the best foundation. Today I have received a letter from Eliza written with her usual ease and dictated by her never dying love. Eliza expresses her own and the wishes of my friends that I should visit Exeter; my heart has not any share in thus long estranging myself from them; there are many circumstances which render Exeter, and my friends there, particularly dear to me. I cannot look back upon any period of my life with more pleasure than the days I have passed there. Remembering what I then was, my friends would not receive all the pleasure from my society which they promise themselves; I could not laugh away as I did then the rosey hours; the mirth which was perfectly innocent in a gay girl of sixteen, would ill become a wife of six and twenty; my chearfulness remains

unabated, and I would cultivate it as a christian virtue; but there is a difference between chearfulness and gaiety; I prefer the former; it is most steady and renders us most pleasant to others.

April 27. I have felt Elizabeth's absence every moment of this long day, but I begin to be more reconciled to it, she has superior duties to discharge at home; in my husband's absence her society seemed particularly necessary to cheer the still seriousness of my little cottage—she is extremely well qualified for the humble sphere in which I move; on subject of importance, our feelings are similar—in religious truths we perfectly accord and it affords me great pleasure in retrospect, that such truths were most frequently discussed by us. I think I never enjoy'd so much from her society as in this last visit; she seems at the early age of twenty to have given up the follies and vanities of the world, and lives as we shall all wish we had lived when we come to die; I have today attended a lecture; Mr. Tomkins officiated; I cannot say that truths divine came mended from his tongue, I doubt not but his heart is right, but his manner is very unfortunate; he has the appearance at least, of affectations which is disagreeable in any man. My grandmother has certainly but few ties to bind her to earth; one daughter and a very few grandchildren are the only props which remain, compared with her bright hopes of eternity, how feeble are these, yet, she leans on them with unutterable fondness. After such an evening as the last I past with her I could feel almost willing that her spirit should be released. Last evening was set apart by a few sisters of our church, for the purpose of serious conversation; my grandmother shone in the circle; it is many years since I have seen her so animated her heart seemed so much engaged and she conversed with such solemn earnestness; as fixed the attention of her auditors.

April 28th. I retired to rest last evening with a heart so light, and feelings so tranquilized, that my repose was more than commonly refreshing and I was enabled to rise with the earliest beams of the sun. I breakfasted alone, that was not quite so pleasant, give me a companion in my journey through life say I, every agreeable cir-

cumstance in life would be but half enjoy'd if I had none to participate. Strange that celibacy should be the crying sin of the age, blind to their own happiness, how many live on, afraid to wear the chain so hard to be dissolv'd, if they unite from proper motives, they will be insensible of the bondage, but if beauty alone seduces, or gold allures, it will "prove that plague of iron" which the poet sings. To relieve my mind from the reflections of my solitary meal, I call'd Mary Sargeant and went with her to pay Miss Balch¹⁹ a morning visit; here every unpleasant thought vanished; it would be wicked to indulge any gloomy whim in Miss Balch's presence. much pleasanter to listen to the harmony of her voice, and the wisdom of her observations; this young lady who has passed all her life in the fashionable world, has all the grace which is usually acquired there, yet she is as simple and unaffected in her manners, as the country girls among whom it is my good fortune to dwell. What Lord Orville says of Evelina may with great propriety be applied to her "she has the wisdom of an angel with the simplicity of a child," her manners form a contrast too striking to pass unnoticed, to some young ladies with whom I have seen her; ah, thought I, how do you gain by the comparison with "affectations sickening form"—but she needs no foil—and is so good she would scarcely be willing to shine, if she must eclipse the lustre of others. We met with Captain Sargeant,²⁰ a sailor, his manners blunt yet elegant, I love sailors, the hardships which it is their lot to endure, makes them compassionate to others, their rough unpolished manner is their pride, they but poorly conceal a heart, inhabited by every tender mercy; I believe they are the kindest husbands, and I am sure they are the best brothers in the world. My husband's brother in law Mr. Varnum²¹ made one of our morning party, his manners are as rude as a sailor's and I believe his

19 She was probably Mary, daughter of Freeborn Balch, of Boston, Beverly and Bradford.

20 Charles Lenox Sargent, son of Epes Sargent, was a sea captain in the East India mercantile service.

21 John Varnum, a highly successful lawyer, married Mary Cook Saltonstall, in 1806, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel and Anna (White) Saltonstall.

heart is as kind. I like him very much there is a certain something, which it would be difficult to describe in his conversation which makes him a very pleasant companion. We found him so today, in our ramble on the pleasant banks of the Merrimac. The weather was fine this morning and tempted us to stray—these morning walks are a great indulgence, and I believe they are healthful, but they sadly interrupt the business of the day, the mind gets so dissipated, it is no easy task to discharge the humble duties of domestic life, as my situation in life renders the discharge of such duties very important, I must be careful not too often to be tempted to such relaxations. I am not much in the habit of gadding; it is not a folly which easily besets me. I would not on any account lose my relish for society, while I am in the world I would participate its innocent pleasures, but not be engrossed by them.

April 29. The morning I passed in my garden, it presents at present but a dreary prospect; it wants a master's hand, all I can do is to take care of the plants which ornament this little spot, and even for the cultivation of these I wish I had more taste; I fancy botany is a study which improves the heart, as well as the mind, a man who so much observed the world of nature as to write "the loves of the plants," must have look'd through nature, up to nature's God. Darwin is a fanciful writer; his subject gave considerable license to the fact one might imagine that his plants did more than feel, that they absolutely breathed, I would read his botanic garden, were it only for the pages which recite the story of "Eliza"; a tale so well described and so pathetically related, is worth more time than is necessary for reading it. Sally and Mary Sargeant drank tea with me this afternoon. Mr. Abbot call'd, while without a gossip story, we were pleasantly seated round the tea table, he is at all times a most welcome visitant, no tincture of gloom or superstition, appears in his conversation on subjects of religion. Captain Sargeant, and Mr. Varnum were my guests, beside those already mentioned, and in these late days, subjects of religion are not I believe most fashionable, among our gay young men, our conversation this

evening, was moral, and innocently gay. Captain Sargeant rises higher in my esteem after every interview he appears to have a great share of native good sense, and the most pleasant wit I have ever observed, this last is a dangerous quality unless under the direction of sound judgment, which does not always accompany it, in Captain Sargeant they appear agreeably blended; he appears to exercise this talent for defence, never for offence, on any occasion. Mr. Varnum was agreeable as usual. I do not dislike his blunt manners, though they have given great offence to some of our modern fine ladies, but I was born in earlier days when sincerity was a virtue.

April 30th. I have much reason to rejoice, that my lot has been but in retirement, the bustle of the great world, would have ill accorded with my love of quiet, and unambitious feelings, I love the country, the simple manners which prevail there, approach nearer my ideas of elegance, and grace, than all the airs, and gestures of the town bred fair. I am glad I was born, and rear'd among the rustic lasses, as somebody says, "when I say my native hill and brook, I speak of objects which are near my heart." Mary and Betsey Harrod was with us in the evening. Mary had not her usual spirits I think; she conversed but little and with less engagedness than common; she is generally exceedingly animated, and a most intelligent companion; her memory is retentive beyond any I have ever known, and she has read with considerable taste, which renders her society improving as well as pleasant. Betsey's cheerfulness never fails, yet she appears perfectly innocent in her mirth; 'tis like the frolic of little children her hours for serious reflection will arrive, she is young yet, and passing a very interesting period of single life; not the most friendly to sober thought; she is on the whole one of the most elegant women I have ever seen and what gives the finishing charm to all is she appears entirely unconscious of possessing any extraordinary gifts or graces, her face is not so strictly conformable to the ideas of mathematical proportion, but is agreeable in the extreme and has that charming expression which is seldom the privilege of perfect beauty, but is oftener bestowed on us to preserve in

some measure the balance of power. Mr. Harrod is remarkably fortunate in his children, taken collectively I have seldom met with so much to please in one family circle. We past this last evening pleasantly, sacred music beguiled sweetly an hour.

May 1st. Nothing of importance has marked this day, except the return of my husband, he has been such a stranger of late, to his happy home, that had I not been certain inclination had no share in detaining him, I should have been inclined to murmur; his happy home I say, and I say it too with pride, and pleasure; it is no small compliment to my own abilities, to my own powers to please, my temper is somewhat wayward, but I hope it has not been discovered in scenes of domestic life, to shine as a good wife is an object of my highest ambition, there are many humble duties to fulfill and to fulfill them with honor and cheerfulness is a consideration which ought not to be beneath the notice of every reflecting woman, I am every day amply repaid for all my endeavors to please, every look from my master is a certificate of my success. and the plaudit of my own conscience affords sweet peace, Cowper says domestic happiness is the only bliss of paradise, which has survived the fall, tho few now taste it unimpaired and pure, he must have been one of the happy few, everything he writes seems to come warm from the heart, the happiness he has so sweetly described he must have felt, I fancy he drew from his own fireside, I think I recollect more than once, in his "Task" his affectionate mention of his wife he had none of that foolish pride which Sterne felt, or pretended to feel on the subject but Sterne, so say his apologists, was unequally and unfortunately yoked; his wife had none of that fine sensibility, which must have dictated every sentence of the stories of Lefevre, Maria, the old monk and the abused ass, 'twas unfortunate that with nerves so finely attenuated and feelings so tremblingly alive, it should be the fortune of Sterne to wed from sentiments of gratitude alone, which, though one of the best, feelings of which our natures are susceptible, is not alone sufficient for the ties of wedded life, it would seem that Eliza was his kindred soul, it might perhaps been more

fortunate for her had her lot been cast with his, I cannot quite approve their love friendships they were pleased to stile, it is not the only time that sacred road has been prostituted, her letters are not exactly such, as I should think proper for a married dame to address to any others than her husband; I think if Eliza had loved hers, the raillerey on the subject of his death, in one of the letters of her friend, must have afforded her, yet she seemed to bear the joke of "putting on an old mans slipper" with perfect complacency. He was I think with many faults, had many virtues too, his faults I hope are blotted from Heaven's register, by the tear of the "recording angel." His sermons do him no credit, they are too fanciful. "His Tristram Shandy" I have been told abounds with wit, but I was early advised never to read it, by one whose word was my law; it is unfortunate for the world that his great genius was not diverted to objects of more importance, his profession would have pointed out such, but I do him injustice in his profession was the object of his first regard, I think if he lived in these days, he would not be the one I should prefer, to direct me in sacred duties. But his name would have descended to us, had he never wrote but the single sentence "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb."

May 2nd. The return of this hallowed day, I welcome. The covenant was read to Mr. Bosquet, and wife, Sally and Mary Sargeant and they were received with love and thankfulness to the bosom of our little church; they will have occasion I doubt not to reflect on this as one of their best days. Mr. Abbot preached in the afternoon from the twenty seventh chapter of the acts 22, 23, and 24th verses; an old but excellent sermon. I have never heard him deliver any sermon, that I should not be glad to hear again and again; everytime I hear him preach, I think I have a new cause for thankfulness that he is my teacher in the gospel, there will be some rebellious in every society, but I believe there is none presents a more perfect picture of harmony than Mr. Abbot's; some few have stray'd from the fold since he has been our shepherd, but let the wanderers go, they might infect the flock. After the evening service, we had a

visitor; but I had got deeply interested in one of Sharp's sermons, and I continued to read even in his presence; if it should be considered a gentle hint of disapprobation of Sunday visitors, I shall consider it a fortunate infringement on the laws of politeness, I would not particularly in my own house treat anyone with downright incivility, but I have not a smile of welcome at every one's service, and those who intrude on hours which should be sacred to sacred duties, are not entitled to it, but such busy bodies there are, who keep their day book and ledger with the greatest care, but forget that great reckoning day when they must account with him who gave them, for the profanation of his holy day.

May 3rd. The pleasures of last evening cancel'd the vexations of the afternoon; a friend called on us who seemed inclined to converse on subjects suitable to the evening; I could not but lament that on such subjects he had some of the wildest notions I have ever heard; had, I say, for I think he was half convinced of his error before he left us; the arguments a woman could offer appear frivolous to a man and that man too, at least in his own opinion, a philosopher. I was almost silent religious truths are so near my husband's heart, that he conversed with an eloquence that seemed almost like inspiration; to me he never appear'd so interesting as when I saw the colour mount into his face, in defence of christianity and its sacred author; if he could plead with as much earnestness at the bar, few would go before him in his profession. . . . To cultivate a garden is an employment very well suited to my feelings, not quite so friendly to the complexion to be sure yet what is stolen from my beauty is repaid in health. I was not taught to consider my external appearance as of most importance. I should choose to be lovely in my husband's eye; this does not depend on the tincture of my skin; if the sun should in these warm days lend a dark shade or two, that heart for which he loves me would still be fair; it was not beauty's saucy face, which won his love, perhaps it would puzzle any other than himself to conjecture what it was.

May 4th. Last evening was set apart for sober chat; still we are cold and dull in our feelings; the purpose

for which we met seems to embarrass all; we converse on light subjects, sometimes try to collect a moral even from these; most of the company retired very early. Sally Sargeant, Nancy Willis and myself tarried more than one hour after they bid us goodnight; together we lamented, the weakness or wickedness of our nature, that even these hours which we ought to esteem almost sacred, were passing by without much improvement. Mr. Abbot recommended to us to read Mason on self knowledge; it was wisely recommended. It gave us pain to hear last evening that already some disagreeable observations had been made on these "christian caucusses," as the wild young men of the present day have been pleased to stile them; they live too much as they list, they think religion would set as awkwardly upon them as an old fashioned garment, and would be as much ashamed of the one as the other. Yet they would choose their wife should be a religious woman, thinking, perhaps, that the unbelieving husband will be sanctified by the believing wife. Sally, and Mary Sargeant, spent this afternoon with me, I had beside another female visitor, we were sociable as usual trifling subjects engrossed us. A letter from Eliza this evening, gives pleasing information of her health, I dont know that I have mentioned this good girl before, it is not because she does not live ever near my heart; she is the sister of my love.

May 5th. . . . In very early life I read Rousseau's "Julia or the new Eloisa." I had no parent to direct my taste, be that my apology, had I a daughter, it is one of the first books I would teach her to despise; it is a fine spun sentimental immoral tale, too well related. I think it may do a great deal of harm, I am sure it can never improve the heart or manners of anyone who wastes time to peruse it. I have been one of the foolish number, the hours I spent in reading it, were worse than wasted. I am trying to get the better of the disagreeable effect east winds have on my feelings, I have high health almost without interruption; it is wicked for me to regard east winds as such an evil; I have walked two miles this afternoon with Sally Sargeant, agreeable converse so much engaged us I almost forgot the chilling air. Sally,

I love more after every conversation. I look forward with regret to the period, when she will bid us farewell, but it is a selfish sorrow, on her own account I have reason to rejoice, her prospects of happiness are bright as a noonday sun. I have known the time when I should have considered it impossible for her to have enjoyed life in the solitude where it will probably be her lot to pass it, she has been considerably engrossed by the world and its vanities, she has secured to herself pleasures which the world cannot give, which will heighten every enjoyment in society, and cheer the still seriousness of Chesterfield. We called on my husband at his office and were welcomed with his usual good humor, but as we found him engaged with particular friends, we were afraid we might interrupt some important *tete-a-tete* and after the compliments of the afternoon bid him goodbye. We spent half an hour with Miss Balch; she is at all seasons and in all situations the same charming woman; if she has a fault and who pleads faultless; it is a disposition to say agreeable things to those around her of themselves or their particular friends nearer than themselves; I am sure she has caused many a blush to cross my cheek but they were occasioned by as many fine feelings as composed Corporal Trim's tear; if she has one of her sexes imperfections it is this habit of flattering, and even this fault leans "to virtues side." She wishes every one to be pleased with their own precious self and I don't know that she ever sacrifices truth to politeness; if she never does she is a very fortunate woman, to please, and be pleased with all around her, I drank tea with my grandmother this afternoon.

May 6th. This day has been sacrificed to the customs of the world, while we live in it, we cannot be quite independent but must yield much to that tyrant custom, I know not how it was, but this last afternoon has been spent quite without enjoyment. I have had a large collection of company, all friends, but we were as silent as a society of quakers when the spirit moves not, to mention them in order and ascribe to each, the qualities which are justly due, one might suppose their conversation would be that "feast of reason" of which the poet sweetly

sings. I will attempt a picture of the group, drawn partially no doubt by the pen of a friend. Miss Balch, I have made mention of her in the last page, her talents for conversation are equal to any young woman I have ever known, she has many words at will, rather inclined to anecdote, till this afternoon I had fancied her above the weakness of her sex, but humanity must still be imperfect, the recollection of a morning headache remained after the pain, and had the power to depress even Miss Balch. Mary Sargeant never converses much, her words are the words of wisdom; she conversed as much as usual today, but it is awkward to support a conversation alone, Sally can talk when she pleases, she is, however, rather a bashful girl, and though her wit and good humor at all times render her a charming companion, yet so great is her native modesty, that if there were a profound silence she would start if her own voice interrupted it, as Robinson Crusoe did at the sound of his, on the uninhabited island. Alice Appleton²² was quite silent, a solitary yes or no is all I recollect to have heard her utter—were I thus to conduct I should be called sullen and Alice loves to talk sometimes as well myself. Nabby Appleton and E. Willis²³ supported their part as well as I expected, they converse together, but in a voice so low, that had they uttered treason, no ear would have caught the information; they are both young, both diffident and both very amiable and unfortunately silent. Rebecca Smith,²⁴ from her better things might have been expected from her known propensity to talk, I was vexed with the gypsy, for she was as silent as a statue, and apparently as motionless. I have since learned she is about to correct a habit, which I think she will find it hard to conquer, it seems she has been ridiculed for her disposition to talk too much, and is now resolved on absolute silence, but that won't do; speech is a gift of God; it was given for our use, not abuse; when we speak evil one of another

²² She was daughter of Daniel and Lydia Appleton, and married John Swett of Boston in 1806. Nabby was a younger sister.

²³ Daughter of Benjamin Willis.

²⁴ Daughter of Rev. Hezekiah and Hepzibah (Kimball) Smith, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Haverhill.

or many foolish vain words, we do worse than bury this talent in the earth; but there are times and seasons when it is wicked to be silent, when the cause of Religion, and innocence are injured; it were criminal not to offer the best defence in our power; I should so feel our insult to either, that I could be quite eloquent in vindication. Betsey Wales was gay, but hers is the kind of mirth that excites no sympathy, she is a girl of sterling sense, and at times a most charming companion. Mary Saltonstall²⁵ has better talents for anything than conversation; she appears interested in the discourse of others but rarely joins her voice with theirs. I mention myself last of the females, and with all due humility confess that today I have felt the want of power to enliven a circle I had been at the pains to collect, yet I utter'd my best sentiments in my best words; what could I more? Everything seemed to conspire to the general depression, my husband was worse than serious, he was absolutely sad, because he had been disappointed in the choice of a federal representative, oh! my husband; you should not suffer political vexations, to disturb the enjoyment of your own fireside.

May 7th. This afternoon I have passed with almost the same collection, but not in the same manner; each one appeared a different character, so social, so chatty and gay, I could scarcely believe they were the same friends that composed such a stupid group the day before, was it that Nancy Herrod's presence animated all around her, for today she made one of our chearful number; I am willing to believe it; she does indeed shine with distinguished lustre in every situation, in a mixed circle, she accommodates her manners and conversation to all, and promotes the general joy in her own family, she is the most dutiful of children and the most affectionate of sisters, and I am sure she is the most faithful of friends; but to me she appears most interesting in a conversation where not a third ear listens; subjects of religion seem nearest to her heart; the interest she feels in them, renders her in such seasons a most charming companion when I

25 Daughter of Dr. Nathaniel and Anna (White) Saltonstall.

see such a woman no feeling is more foreign than envy as she is one of my own frail number; I have the flattering idea that her merit exalts the sex; and that I have a title to a share, but if we rise with our feeble sisters we sink with them too and how many wear an angel's face and cherish a demons heart, even while I write one passes, who since my recollection in her days of rectitude was the very queen of beauty, but how lost, how fallen, fallen indeed like Lucifer never to rise again. I feel the odium this woman casts on her sex and would double my diligence by a life of virtue, and spotless purity to save it from that disgrace into which it would soon sink; if there were any countenance afforded to conduct like hers; man boasts superior strength of mind, I would have him prove it, by avoiding or conquering temptation; but man disgraces his Godlike reason, and yields to a thousand follies, to give them no harsher name and passes through the world in light repute, such conduct would blast the reputation of a poor weak woman. I would have it so 'tis a great security, but 'tis an unrighteous custom, which gives such licence to our lords of Creation, my happy fate has united me to one, where good conduct would persuade me to think well of his fellows; I do, but profligacy is creeping in upon us, humanity in many points of view presents but a sad picture, but it is said the darkest hour precedes that which ushers in the day; may that morn soon spring to light and the sun rise with healing in his beams for the sins of a back-sliding nation.

May 8th. Today a few of my husband's friends shared our frugal board, "no tortur'd viands pall'd the taste", 'twas simple fare, but with the society who partook, I should have given it the preference to a feast with Kings. Mr. Abbot's company was the choicest delicacy which graced our table. In the pulpit he is solemn and impressive, but when he mixes with the world he is cheerful, sometimes gay, in no situation does he ever forget his high and holy calling, his cheerfulness is the cheerfulness of a christian, and his gaiety is of that kind which Clinton ascribes to his wife, "one would think he went to Heaven from time to time, and borrowed his sports from the Kingdom of little children." Captain Sargeant

was today more than usually entertaining; he contributed much to the general happiness; sailors are in general very pleasant companions; they would still be more so, if they did not think a good story improved by a few oaths. I believe Captain Sargeant is not in such habits. I have never heard him utter a profane word, perhaps the company of women restrains him, if it does, he is better than many of his sea-faring brothers, in general they do not feel bound by the laws of delicacy, which are imposed by the presence of women or the clergy, of whom they have a superstitious dread, it is agreed by them I have been told by one of the number, that if the idea of a minister should cross their mind in a dream, it portends such destruction to themselves or vessel, but with all their superstition and their faults, I love sailors, they have as many active good qualities as any class of men, tis not enough with them to say to a poor suppliant "be ye fed, be ye clothed," tho their money is earned through difficulties and dangers, at the peril of their lives, yet they have always something to give to those who are poorer, and according to Laraters doctrine, a sailor "is in the realms of humanity, a king of kings." Mr. Varnum, too was our guest, he talked much, ate little, laughed heartily. Mr. T. Osgood²⁶ is a good man, his merit and his past sufferings give him a claim to every civility from his friends, I contribute my mite for the promotion of his happiness with the greatest cheerfulness if my wishes could be heard, and gratified he should have a companion to cheer the down hill of life, an old bachelor, is of all human beings, the most forlorn; give me a companion through life, "were it only to say to him, how our shadows lengthen as the sun goes down; how beautiful these fields, how sweet the song of birds." Our dinner today, was a cheerful simple feast; Sally Sargeant and an agreeable foreigner, beside those already mentioned were our guests.

²⁶ Timothy Osgood, son of Isaac and Abigail (Bailey) Osgood, married at the age of 53, in 1812, Sally Codman of Fryeburg, Me., Magistrate and Register of Probate.

May 10th. This is the birthday of Eliza;²⁷ she has numbered eighteen years; my husband rallies me on my particular observation of dates; but the birthday of a friend does not pass without my notice any more than my own. If they are absent from me, I participate the feelings which the return of this natal day will excite. I retrace with them the events of the last year, I mourn with them the misimprovement of the time and talents which have been put into their hands for getting wisdom. I rejoice in any good resolution that the year which succeeds shall correct the errors of the past. The last has been a most interesting period in Eliza's life. I must note it as Julia did the day of her marriage, tho' not with feelings exactly similar; she mark'd the day, and left its property blank, and said fate would one day fill it up, it was indeed fill'd with a sad catalogue of evils, which wisdom could not foresee, nor innocence shun. I have no unpleasant foreboding on Eliza's account. Gold, the murderer of love did not allure her; it is a union of hearts, not exactly agreeable to our new callender, her happiness is near to me as my own. I know she will make a good wife and I have such confidence in her taste and judgment, that I think she would not select a companion unworthy of her, in saying this, I pay her chosen no small compliment; this afternoon I have passed very agreeably at Mr. Epes Sargeants;²⁸ 'tis quite a feast for the eye of the mind and person, to behold a family circle so improved in mind and manners. I think his feelings must be most satisfactory, for he has been alone their Instructor; most of their days have been passed in retirement, yet their manners, would become a court and their minds are enriched with all useful and polite information. I think the mother of the family less lovely than any other member of it; she has not quite enough of the woman

²⁷ Eliza Orne, b. May 10, 1784, daughter of William and Abigail (Ropes) Orne of Salem, married, first, William Wetmore; second, Daniel Appleton White.

²⁸ Epes Sargent had moved from Gloucester to Hampstead, N. H., where he remained until 1803, when he went to Boston as president of the Suffolk Insurance Company. His wife was Dorcas, daughter of James Babson of Gloucester. Their daughter Catherine died, unmarried, in Gloucester, in 1852.

about her, she has none of that softness which Mary Wolstoncraft our Great champion, condemns; her mind and manners are alike masculine; her children fortunately inherit one without the other; Catherine, the eldest has I am told been called the domestic beauty; she has a fine set of features, and a brilliant complexion, but wants that charming expression which alone constitutes the beauty of her oldest sister, in her conversation she discovers a correct mind improved by education. Esther,²⁹ had but little of what the world calls beauty; there is nothing amiss in her features, and nothing remarkably striking to her complexion, the lilies and the roses do not lend their aid, her form is perfect symmetry, and were I to choose my external appearance, which to be sure is unimportant, Esther Sargeant's face and form is among the first I should select; for her features are a little group of sentiments, and have that kind of expression which is more fascinating than beauty itself which indeed in my opinion is perfect beauty; she converses but little, but with perfect propriety and the tones of her voice, are indeed harmonious. Anna,³⁰ it is so universally agreed, resembles my faded self, that I might be partial in her portrait, were I to attempt drawing it, but I was never so much flattered as to hear there was any affinity in our minds, hers appears to me strong beyond most women; she converses much, with greatest ease, and as far as I can judge, with great propriety. Anna is more celebrated for her beauty than either of her sisters, but to the general voice I cannot join my own, give me Esther's face, no fault can be found with Anna's features, taken separately or collectively, she appears to me a fine sprightly girl; considerable frolic about her, which very well becomes her youth; she rallies the beaux which flutter round her with great spirit and receives their raillery in return with the most perfect good humor.

May 11th. Henrietta Sargeant³¹ boasts no beauty's grand charms. She is young, and as that diffidence which

²⁹ Esther married John Dixwell, M. D., of Boston.

³⁰ Anna married John Parker of Boston.

³¹ She was born in 1785, but is not mentioned in the Sargeant Genealogy.

best becomes her years I am told she has great vivacity and great wit, that the natural powers of her mind are superior to either of her sisters, and that her improvements have more than kept pace with her years; she is quite a botanist, and has attended to studies which the great Milton would have thought unnecessary at least, if not unbecoming a woman. Dorcas³² is very young and very pretty; I cannot form a just judgment, she has much intelligence in her eye; if that tells truth, one might venture to predict that this rising child, will one day shine, among her risen sisters. I think parents who can view such a family circle as this, and can with conscious pride say, we alone assisted by him who gave them, have rear'd these "tender plants," have "taught the young idea how to shout" have pour'd instruction o'er their opening minds, and trained them up to deeds of piety, and virtue, such parents have their reward here. Mary Harrods absence this evening was a subject of regret, she labours under the oppression of disease; she has some prophetic feelings, which will not assist her recovery, that this will be her last illness; but tis an ill fated prophecy which numbers so few days to her existance yet I was so foolish this evening as to be infected by it, when I saw how ill she was, yet I hope better things.

May 12th. I passed this afternoon with my friend Nancy Willis, with a pleasant circle. Nancy and Sally Sargeant, Miss Balch, Rebecca Smith, Betsey Wales and Mary Saltonstall, on the whole I enjoyed myself very much, but there were some unpleasant sensations which I could not check, probably this is the last visit I shall ever have it in my power to make Nancy while she remains in Haverhill. I mentioned this to her, a tear stole down her cheek, at once a witness of her friendship, and the regret which the idea of separation occasioned, I was foolish to mention it, but my own heart was so full, I could not think or converse on any other subject. Nancy was always a great favourite of mine, but I think she becomes dearer as the period approaches when she will bid us farewell. Our girls are marrying so fast, and leaving us, this will be quite a deserted village, but I shall be left "The sad historian of the plaintive tale." I

32 Dorcas married Abiel Chandler of Boston.

have sometimes thought my local attachments so strong that I could be happy in Haverhill without society, I am likely to make the experiment soon for except my own and a few, families which I visit, there is scarcely one which has not lost, or is about to lose some member. Old friends are most pleasant, I would never change them could I choose, but the fashion of the world is passing away and I am passing with it; soon instead of the fathers shall be the sons. I was wrong to go out in the storm today, it has caused my husband much anxiety and some vexation. I am never quite so well satisfied when I oppose his wishes, he is very reasonable, I am not half so good a wife as he deserves; but as there are more blanks than prizes in the matrimonial lottery he must be contented that his was not quite a blank he has always appeared quite satisfied but he congratulated himself too soon. The storm beats hard against my windows; oh my poor brother,³³ you are at the mercy of winds and waves but "There is a sweet little cherub sits smiling aloft" to protect you from danger and restore you safe to your affectionate friends and sister.

May 13th. I sometimes have wished when I have been writing, that my stile of life was more varied, that it afforded more narrative; my friends might receive more pleasure from my letters, for I have it to lament that I have but little taste for sentiment and still less talents, but the circumstances and situation of my life are wisely ordered. I have been reared in the shade of retirement; it is my proper station; in the hurries of the world and its vanities, neither my heart nor understanding qualify me to take a part. Mr. Abbot passed the evening with us, his profession is not more friendly, than his manners, in a sick chamber, to comfort the wounded in body and spirit, to rejoice with the ransomed from sickness and death, and to soothe the dying. There are a thousand unpleasant cheerless offices attending the profession of a clergyman to which nothing but their piety and a high sense of duty can reconcile.

May 14th. When time is mispent, we offend against such a perfect being, that repentance, must accompany confession, or it will be but of little importance. Young,

33 Her brother Joseph, b. 1778, d. 1806, unmarried.

in his "Night Thoughts" has I think some fine ideas on the employment of time, indeed this little volume affords much excellent instruction, I scarcely know anyone of the size that I value more. I have passed this last half hour before I sleep with my Grandmother, she is still an invalid, and might think I fail'd in filial respect and duty, if I neglected one day to make my personal enquiries concerning her health. I write as much of my Grandmother, as Simon Olivebranch does of his mother; she is not quite so lovely a picture of old age, as he represents his mother; her heart is the temple of as many living virtues, but her mind has fled before her; what remains however is so precious, so important to my happiness, that I would do as much if possible as Simon did, to save "one parent from the sky" I am sometimes disposed to be vexed at the imperfections of her second childhood, but when I remember how tenderly she watched the helpless days which I have passed, every murmur is silenced.

May 15th. My employment this morning was quite novel, it is many years since I have been to school, tho I have yet much to learn, this morning I have been a scholar, not for the polite accomplishments of dancing, music or painting, but to be made perfect in the simple art of knitting; my instructors had some pupils older than myself; this reconciled me a little, but I was frequently reminded of poor old Sir Hugh Tyrrel, of whom Miss Burney writes so sweetly, he attempted to learn latin after he had passed his grand climaction, "but owing to his poor head," as he observed could never make very handsome proficiency, could never go beyond his hic, haec, hoc; I fancy we shall never progress in knitting after the fashion of our poor old maimed instructor, much further, than poor old Sir Hugh in his latin but it served to divert an hour, if I never knit another stitch, I shall not shed many tears to the memory of fifty cents which I paid for learning; I would have given such a pitiable object as much and considered the money at good interest too for money given to the needy is a loan to the giver of us all; Miss Balch and R. Smith³⁴ called on me this morning.

³⁴ Rebecca Smith, daughter of Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D. D., pastor of the Baptist Church. Married Thomas Kendall of Boston in 1809.

MARBLEHEAD COMMONERS' RECORDS,
1652-1745.

(Continued from Volume LXXVII, page 290.)

[59] We whose Names are underwritten Trustees for the Commoners of the towne of Marblehead have sold unto Timothie Goodwine of Marblehead all that parcell off land that his house now stands upon being about two pole in length & two pole in breadth being the house & land of John Leach late of Marblehead but now in the possession of the said Timothie Goodwin wt a parcell of land to the sd. Timothie Goodwine his heires & Executors for ever being about five pole & halfe in length & about two pole in breadth wheron his barn now stands wt a Small strip of land lying to the wall of william woods upon the northeast & the wall of Thomas Candish upon the northwest and the Commons upon the Southwest & southeast ffor which land soe bounded & now fenced in he hath paied to us the soume of twintie five shillings in money and by these we discharge him their-off, sell alienate & confirme to the sd. Goodwine and his aforsds that parcell off land to wit the five pole & halfe in length & two pole in breadth. to enjoy it peaceably & quietly wtout any molestation from the towne or commoners in Marblehead In witnes to the truth above written we have sett to ovr hands this thirtie day of March 1691.

nathanel walton

Archibald Ferguson

James dennes

The Commoners are Debr. April 7 th 1690		
Expendd at severall times by the trusties for		
their refection —		12 01
To 10 ^{lb} in money pr. Capt. Norden & Capt.		
pitman — —	010 00 00	
To 5 ^{lb} 13 ^s in money pr. Capt. Norden & Capt.		
pitman — —	005 13 00	

To 1 ^{lb} 13 ^s in money pr. Select men when they went to Law in June court 1690 with Vinson Stilson —	001 13 00
To 1-s 11 ^d in expences about the widow Nickes busines — —	000 01 11
To money receaved pr. Capt. Legg. due to him — —	001 10 00
To money expended by mr. walton allowed by the Comonrs —	000 15 00
	<hr/>
	021 05 00
To Soe much Allowed them for Their Com- missions Toward Theire Time & Expenses}	..1.....
	<hr/>
	£22...5....

At a meeting of the Commoners and proprietors of the toune of Marblehead the 7th of Aprill 1690 Its clearly voted by general consent that what money is now, or shall be, for time to come in the hands of the trustees or committee chos[en] for the commoners of Marblehead, shall be Laied out for the fitting up & finishing of the fort, and buying of pouder & other necessities belonging to the great guns. At a meeting of the Commoners March the 27th. 1695 The Act & vote abovewritten is fully repealed to all intents & purposes²

Also at the same Meeting of the Commoners & proprietors of the toune of Marblehead the 7th. of Aprill 1690.² Its clearly voted by general consent that the now outside fence & gates, taking in the farme commons ten acre Lotts & the Qwoie pd. Land wt in the towne ship of Mar-

¹ This was doubtless a provision against French cruisers from Port Royal which was not captured by Plup until May 1690. Why the order was repealed before the Peace of Rys which ended the war is not clear.

² The "Coy Pond" lands were not an original part of the Humphreys purchase. For a more detailed account of this land see Vol. XLVI, No. 1 of the *Historical Collections* of the Essex Institute: "Marblehead in the Year 1700" by Sidney Perley.

blehead wt the gates on Pharoahs river bridge be made and kept up this summer season by Ensigne Nathaniell Walton Sergt. Samll: Reed, Jacob knight and Timothie Goodwine and what charges they shall be out in making & repairing the same, they are to be paied by the Select men of the towne out of the Commoners money that is in the hands of the trustees or committee for the Commoners

Also at the same Meeting of the Commoners & proprietors of the towne of Marblehead the 7th of Aprill 1690. Its clearly voted by general consent that Ensigne Nathll: walton Sergt: Samll: Reed Jacob knight, and Timothie Goodwin are the persons chosen all and every of them and by these we give them and every of them full pouer to Looke after the stint of cattell this yeare, made and recorded in the Commoner booke, that no [person] keep any more cattell then their sd. priviledge allows them, and we therfor ordered one or more a weeke throughout this summer to ride or goe about the whole Land of the farme commons ten acre Lotts quore pd Land and the great neck of Marblehead (except such Land as we particularly improved and to take up and take notice off any cattell trespassing, and are Impowred heirby to prosecute at Law all trespassers whatever either of our owne towne, or of another towne at the commoners charge, they having the halfe prt of the penaltie of the Law & orders in ttheir soe doing for their pains, and the other halfe they are to be accountable to the select men of the towne for the use of the commoners & proprietors, which penaltie is according to former usages and now is established to be 10^s for a cow trespassing for a horse 20^s and for other young cattell proportionably to be paied in silver to the persons above Impowred, and this soe often as they shall be found at any time trespassing.

Also at the same meeting of the Commoners & proprietors of the towne of Marblehead Aprill the 7th. 1690 Its clearly voted by general consent. That no herbadge or feed for cattell shall be let out to any person that are not Inhabitants of this towne and if any commoner or pro-

prietor shal otherways presume contrary to this towne order now generally made and voted for, he shall pay 20^s in money to the select men of the towne for the use of the Commoners soe often as he shall let out any stint to others of another towne, and in refusing to pay the select men they are heirby Impowred to prosecute all & every such person as the law directs. As also no commoner or proprietor shal keep or let out more cattell then their stint made & recorded in the commoners booke, And if any prson offer to doe otherways they are & shall be Looke upon as trespassers, & to be prosecuted accordingly

[61] we whose Names are heir underwritten trustees for the toune and Commoners of Marblehead have sold unto Capt. Andrew Cratey now off Marblehead his heires executors Administrators or Assigns for ever, all that parcell of Land and rocks, Lying betwixt Richard Reeds new stage, and John Stacie, Cooper, Shope, being in breadth fronting to the high way to the Northwest twintie foot more or Lese; And also from Richard Reeds stage to the southward of John Stacies Shop fourtie foot, being bounded with a rocke to the south west with a rocke about nine foot from John Stacies Shope, And the said Capt. Andrew Cratey is to run the sd. breadth of fourtie foot to Low water marke below the Gallery of Richard Reeds Stage, for which Land and rocks now sold & Laied out & bounded by us underwritten to Capt. Andrew Cratey—and his aforsaid, he the sd. Capt. Andrew Cratey hath paied unto us thirtie Shillings in money whei of by these we discharge him and his for ever off Sell, alienate, enfeosse, and confirme to the sd Capt. Andrew Cratey and his affords. all the aforsd. Land & rocks soe bounded & laied out to enjoy it peaceably & quietly wtout any molestation from the toune, commoners or any others in marblehead. In witnes and to the truth of the abovewritten wee have sett to our hands this sixteen day of January in the yeare of our Lord Christ 1690/1

James dennes
Archibald Ferguson
John Legg Asestens

Marblehed.

At a meeting of the Commoners legally warned the 30th of March 1691

Its voted that the present select men shall see the outside fence & gotes to be made up sufficiently

Also Its voted That sergt. Samll Reed Sergt. Richard Trevet Timothie Goodwin & wm: Bartlet are the persons chosen & to have full power to Look after the stint of cattell this yeare & to observe all orders made about the same, especially to attend the orders made Last yeare, And the abovesd. fence & gates to be made up agnst the midle off Aprill next.

Also Its voted that noe herbadge or feed for Cattell shall be let out to any person that are not Inhabitants of this towne and if any presume otherways they are to pay according to the Last years order and the select men are to prosecute all such as are found delinqwents, And the select men are Impowred to gett a sufficient herdsman. And the sd. sergt Reed sergt Trevet, Timothie Goodwin & wm: Bartlet are to have a horse herbadge pr [10s:] this yeare for their pains they being faithfull in their office
[62] Marblehead

At a Commoners Meeting Legally warned the 30th day off March 1691. Its voted & agreed that the Committee chosen Last yeare shall stande Joyning wt them Capt. John Legg and Mr: Ambrose gale senr. and to act & doe in all things not diminutive to the former power recorded in this booke foll: 44.

We whose Names are underwritten, Trustees for the Commoners off the towne off Marblehead, & Impowred by them to Looke after all encroached Lands, & Compound wt. such on reasonable terms, finding a parcell off such Land, added to the house, that was formerly John Hudson, which the tounesmen formerly give the sd. Hudson during his life & his wifes life, a parcell of Land, for a house & garden, but after their decease to returne to the towne, or the use of the towne, & who ever shall claime the house by gift, or any other way, they shall pay to the towne as much as the sd. Land shall then be worth, as its

recorded in the Commoners towne booke of Marblehead foll: 8th: we theirfor finding Mr. Josiah wilcott Mrcht of Salem the next claimer, & right owner of sd. Hudsons house, now in the possession off Samll Clarke blacksmith; ffor & in consideration of six pounds in money to us in hand actually, weel, & truly paied by the sd. Mr. Josiah wilcott Mrcht in Salem, wheiroff by these we discharge him off; Sell, alienate Enfeosse, & Confirme unto the aforsd. Mr. Josiah wilcott Mrcht, his heires, & assignes for ever the sd. parcell off land, wheiron the dwelling house, that was formerly John Hudson now stands, containing by estimation, halfe an Acre off Land, be it more or lese, as its now fenced round wt a stone wall adjoining to, & bounded wt the Land that was formerly Richard knott on the north East, & wt the Commons of the towne of Marblehead to the Northwest, west, & South. To Have & to hold the sd. house & Land wt all the Appurtenances & priviledges theirto in any wise belonging, to him the sd. mr. wilcott his heires & assignes in fee simple for ever, And to enjoy it peaceably & quietly wtout any interruption, disturbance, & molestation from the towne, or Commoners & proprietors of the towneship off Marblehead. In witnes wheiroff we have sett to owr hands this ninth day off Aprill Anno Dom: on thowsand six hundred & nintie on, Anno Regni Rgs et Rgnae Guielmi et Mariae 2d: Magnae Britanniae & cet:

James dennes
 nathanel walton
 John Legg
 Ambros gall Sinour
 Archibald Ferguson

Wee whose names are underwritten Trustees for the Commoners of the Towne of Marblehead and Impowered by them have Sold and Laide out unto Samuell nicholson off sd. Towne, a Smale parcell of Land and Rockes, Joyneing unto the Land of Nicholas Andrews on the S East side, and Joyneing unto the Land of Capt. James Smith on the S west Side, and is next the high waye Seven pole

on the N west side — and thirteen foott on the North East End for which parcell of Land hee hath pd unto us the Subscribers Fifteen shillings in Monie for accompt of the Commoners afore sd. wittness our handes att Marblehead This Fowertineth daye of August 1695 @

John Legg

nathanel walton

James dennis

[63] know all men by these presents That we John Merret James Merret & Nicholas Merret all off Marblehead, Marriners, & Abigail Merret relict off Samll Merret deceased the fourth brother who with the other three were Lefft Joint Executors off the estate off our ffather Nicholas merret deceased wt the consent off our wives, Mary, Sarah, and Elizabeth, ffor & in consideration off the ffull sume off five pounds to us in hand befor the delyverie off these presents by Henry Roads senr. off Lynn planter weell & truly paied, off which by these we discharge him off: Have given granted, bargained, alienated & sold, and by these presents doe fully clearly, & absolutely give grant, bargaine, Alienate and Sell unto the aforesaid Henry Rodes, his heires & assignes for ever on Coves Commonage or priviledge off herbage on the commons off Marblehead, being on off them, which were granted, confirmed & made to belong to our ffather Merret deceased, and enjoyed by him & to be soe by his heires & assignes ffor ever, as by the Toune booke & Records theirine will at Large Appeare, To Have & to Hold the said Cowe Common or priviledge off herbage ffor on Cow unto the said Henry Roads, and to his heires, and assignes, and to his, and their proper use, benefitt, and behooffe ffor ever. And the sd. John Merret, James Merret, Nicholas Merret, and Abigaill Merret doe Covenant, promise and grant to & with the said Henry Roads his heires and assignes, that the premises are ffree & clear from & off all other giffts, Sales, Morgages Dowees, and Incumbrances, whatever made, done, or suffered to be done by them; and doe heirby cove[nant] promise, bind, and oblidge themselves, their heires, Executors and — Ad-

ministrators, to warrant, defend, & make good the above bargained premises ffrom all persons Laying any Lawfull or Legall claime theirunto, soe as the said Henry Roads his heires and assignes for ever sh[all] & may have, hold possesse, occupy & enjoy the premises, without ejection ffor ever. In witnes off all which the ffore Named parties, John Merret, James Merret, Nicholas Merret, & Abigaill Merret have hereunto Sett their hands and Seals the sixt day off June. Anno Dom. on thousand, six hundred and Ninety one, and in the third yeare off the Reign off King William and Qween Mary over England & cet:

Signed, Sealed, and delyvered

in the presence off

Samll Cheever

Francis Grant

John Merret & Seall: |

James Merret & Seall |

Seall

Nicholas Merret & Seall

This is a true Copie off the Originall deed Recorded in the Commoners Towne Books and Records off Marblehead in ffollio ffortie eight: Atest: Archibald Ferguson

Marblehead the 25th off July Recordr: for the com-
1691 moners off Marblehead

[64] We whose Names are underwritten Trustees ffor the Commoners off the Towne off Marblehead, & Impowred by them to Looke affter all encroached Lands, & compound wt such on reasonable termes, ffinding a parcell off such Land in the hands & occupation off Samwell Merret deceased, & Jacob knight Late off Marblehead, ffor on Just halffe or moitie off which Land Samwell Merret did give the bill off twintie shillings in money, but he dying & sd bill not satisfied or paied by his him heires or assigns, Major Charles Redfford Marchtt off Salem being the greatest Credr. to the estate off sd. Merret, and [by] Law the rightfull Owner, Having paied to us in hand the above sd Sume off twintie shillings in money and taken up the sd: Samll Merrets bill wheiroff by these we discharge him theirown. Sell, Alienate Enfeosse and Confirme unto the sd. Major Charles Redford Marchtt off Salem his heires & assignes ffor ever the sd. parcell off Land, being two pools in breadth & the Length

off the Land off Henry Russell deceased Lying upon the Northwest side off sd. Land, & the Land off John pedricks upon the Southwest, & the Land off James Merret upon the North east. To Have & to hold the sd. Land wt all the appurtenances & priviledges theirunto in any wise belonging to him the sd. Major Redford his heires & assignes in ffee simple for ever. & to enjoy it peaceably & quietly wtout molestation or trouble from the toun, commoners & proprietors of the towneship off Marblehead. In witnes wheiroff we have sett to our hands this twintie fiftt day off July Anno: Dom: on thousand six hundred & Ninetie one; Anno qr regni regis et reginae Guwlmī & Marie 3tio Magnae Brittanīae etcet:—

John Legg

James dennes

Archibald Ferguson

We whose Names are underwritten Trustees ffor the Commoners off the Towne off Marblehead, & Impowred by them to Looke after all encroached Lands, & compound with such on reasonable termes, Have sold unto James Fabins off Marblehead fischerman a parcell off Land Lying & scituate in Marblehead, bounded with the high way upon the Southwest five pole & halffe in ffront beginning at the corner off the wall off the widow Luckies, & bounded with the Commons off Marblehead Northwest being five pole & halffe that way, and from thence upon the North East side three pole & ten ffoot, & upon the south east Side bounded with the Land & wall off Richard Reed senr. & upon the South with the Land and wall off the affor.sd: widow Luckies; ffor which Land soe bounded and Laied out to the sd: James Fabins, he hath paied to us in hand the summe off three pounds ffiffeteen shillings in money, wheir off by these we discharge him off, Sell, Alienate, Enfeosse & confirme to the sd: James Fabins, his heires, Executors, & assignes in ffee simple for ever all the sd. Land to Enjoy it peaceably & quietly wtout molestation or trouble from the toun, Commoners, & proprietors off the towneship off Marblehead. In witnes wheiroff we have sett to our hands this twintie fiftt day off July Anno. Dom: on thousand six hundred and nine-

tie on. Anno q^r regni regis et reginae Guielmi et Mariae
3 tio Magnae Brittaniae: etcet:

John Legg

James dennes

Archibald Ferguson

his marke

Ambrose A Gale senr.

[65] Feb:ry 1686/7 Then sold unto Thomas Seuerry
a parcel of Land whereon his house Standeth, the said
Land being foure pole wide on the Wester end and five
pole in Length. and three pole wide on ye Northeast end
the towne Commons on each Side — and ye end — for
which land he hath payd, in money: thirty: Shillings
which land we have sold. to him & his heirs forever

as: witness our hands

The Land alsoe that the End of his barne now stands on
being Included in the Agreement.

Marblehead January 14 { 1700 @ The Comittee Appoint-
id by the Commoners We have This day farther Agreed
with Thomas Severy for Twenty fflower shillings now
paide for all That Aditien that hee hath now fenced in
Adjoineing To The above sd Land witness our hands the
day afore sd —

John Legg

James dennes

nathanel walton

his marke

Ambrose. A Gale Senr

John Legg Richard Reith James dennes Archbld Ferguson

March: 9th 1691/2 We whose names are under written
being a committie for to Lay out Land, have laid out
unto John Bassett a Small piece of Land. under the hill.
att the Northeast end of mr: Richard Reiths house:
Leaveing a way, up to Thomas Severy's house: ye Land
is thirty-eight foot in Length. & thirty foot in breadth for
which Land he ha[th] paid in money Twenty shillings c—

John Legg

James dennes

his mark

Ambros A gall Senr.

nathanel walton

We Whose names are under written, Trustees for the Commoners of Marblehead, and Impoured by them: have Sould & laid out. unto Peter Figit a Small persel of Land: Joining unto ye Land of James Fabians the land being. Six pole in Length; on the North West Side, and three pole & halfe att ye North East End: and foure pole on ye South west Sid[e] next to the high way: and Six pole in Length. on ye Side Joining to ye Land of James Fabians; for which Land he has paid. three pound ten shillings in money: April ye 9th 1692

John Legg
James dennes
nathanel walton
Ambrose A Gale S[enr]
his marke

[66] Wee whose Names are hereunto Subscribed Trustees for the Commoners of this Towne of Marblehead, for The Selleing of House Lottes & Encroached Landes &s. within sd Towne, have Sold & Alianated Unto Obidiah Bridges of sd. Towne a Smale parcell of Land for a house Lott, Bounded upon The Land of Robt. Nichols & Roger — Stiphens, To the South Eastly. side and is There Six poles in Length — Three poles Broade att the Western End, itt is ffive pole in Length on The North Westly. side, and is one Pole and halfe att the North — Easterly End from The Walle of Roger Stiphens to The highway, for which hee hath in hand To Us paide (for The Use of the sd. Commoners) The Summe of Three poundes in Mony before Signeing hereof. In Consideration — where off hee is To Injoy The Sd. Land, (or house Lott) as an Absolute Estate of Inheritance. To him his Heires Executors or Assignes for Ever Wittness our handes att Marblehead This Eighteenth day of March 1700/1 And in The Thirteenth Yeare of his Majties Reign over Engd. &c

Witness John Browne
Cler. To the Commoners
& sd. Towne

John Legg
Richard Reith
Archibald Ferguson
James dennes

Wee whose Names are hereunto Subscribed. Trustees for The Commoners of This Towne of Marblehead, Appointed

for The Selleing of house Lottes and Incroched Landes &s. within Sd. Towne have Sold & Alianated Unto Elias Jayner. of sd. Towne & Smale parcell of Land for a house Lott, Bounded Upon Thomas Severy's Land, To The North Eastly Side, and is There five poles in Length, and Three pole in Breadth on The South Easterly End, Abutteing Upon The Land of mr. Richard Reith, and Six pole in Length on the Westerly side, and Three pole broad on The North Westerly End, for — which hee hath paide To Us in hand befor signeing hereof The Summe of Three poundes in Mony (for The Use of The sd. Commoners,) for which Consideration hee is To Injoy The sd. House Lott, as an Absolute Estate of Inheritance. To him his Heires & Assignes for Ever, Wittness our handes att Marblehead This Eighteenth day of March anno domini 1700/1 And In The Thirteenth Yeare of his Majties Reign —

Wittness John Browne
Cler. To sd. Commoners
& sd. Towne

John Legg
Richard Reith
Archibald Ferguson
James dennes

[67] Wee The Subscribers being Impowered & Appointed by The Commoners & Towne of Marblehead To Lay out Certaine parcells of Land formerly Granted by The Towne of Salem Unto Sundrie persons as appeares of Record. Wee have accordingly Laide out To John And Samuel Getchili Six Ackres att The North East point of the Neck The North East line being 50 poles, The Southwest line 50 poles, The Northwest line abutteing upon The great harbour $19\frac{3}{4}$ Pole & The SouthEast line $19\frac{3}{4}$ Poles, being Six Ackers according To the Grant aforsd. Jeremiah Getchill & Abigall Larimore alias Rowland, being pressent and Claimeing a Right To the sd. Grant, and Accepted of the Same dated In Marblehead May 19th anno dommini 1701 @—

John Legg
Richard Reith
John stasey

Wee The Subscribers being Impowered Appointed by The Commoners and Towne of Marblehead To Laye out Certaine parcells of Land formerly Granted by The Towne

of Salem Unto Sundrie persons as — Appeares of Record, Wee have accordingly Laid out, To mr William Waters, and mr Elias Henry & mr Eleazor Ingols, as The Heires Exec[trs] or Administratrs.

[68] The Commoners of Marblehead are Dr

[51]	£ s d
1691	
Apryl..To paid mr Ferguson for Warning the men att a meeting —	} ,.,.,.1,..
May.11 To. paid Capt. John Pittman for. 2 Barrels: Powder	,,16,,.,.,.
To paid mr. Ambrose Gale Junr. for. 5 hund. of plank	.1,,10,, 8
To paid Robt. Rounding for. 5 hundd: of boards	,,.,.,14,,..
June To paid mr: Masters for freight of. 2 gt. guns fro: Boston:	0,,.8,,..
To Spent att Wm Waters when we built ye watch house2,,..
July To paid Tho: Powsland for Cariages for ye guns (his parte)	2,,.,.,..
To. paid mr. James Denis. yt. he Spent at John Deverix'	,,.,.,.,.,.8
Octobr. To. paid Jacob Knight. for Bricks. and Labour—for ye Watch house	1,,.5,,.6
To. one Barrel of Powder: att—	. .7,,15,,
To paid for making up ye farme fence 20s	,,.1,,.,.,..
To one Barrel of Tarre att. 5s	,,.,.,.5,,..
1692 To paid Jerh: Gatchel for Clamps for ye Gunns —	,,.,.,.4,,.8
April: 7th To Spent att Wm Waters'. att Sun- dry times: 2s —	,,.,.,.2,,..
	<hr/> 031,,08,,06
Due to Ballance. in Capt. Legg's handes	,,.6,,.1,,.6
	<hr/>
Remaines dew for The Last Yeare's Balla.	,,037:10,,00
	<hr/>

from Ltt. Dennis £1,,13,,—
 £6,,.1,,.6

Stock Totall £7,,14,,.6
 [3]7:10:00
 3 1:08: 6

6:01: 6

52 The Commoners. of Marblehead are Pr Contra C—

1691

Apl. 25..By Cash: I received of mr: Willcott: ,,.6,,. ,,. ,,.
 By Cash I recieved of Josep Nicholson ,,.1,,14,,.
 By ditto of my Selfe Capt. Legg ,,.1,,10,,.
 By. ditto of Maijor Redford for Samll
 Merrets Land .,.1,,. ,,. ,,.
 May By ditto of Thomas Ellis: 40s ,,.2,,. ,,. ,,.
 By ditto of. John Stasey ,,.3,,. ,,. ,,.
 By ditto of Richard Gross ,,.1,,16,,.
 By ditto of Richard Reed ,,.6,,. ,,. ,,.
 June: 11 By ditto of Andrew Tucker ,,.3,,. ,,. ,,.
 July: 5,,By ditto of James fabians ——— ,,.3,,15,,.
 By ditto of. Robert Bartlet ——— ,,.1,,15,,.
 March: 12,,By ditto of. Thomas Severry ,,.1,,10,,.
 1692 By ditto of. John Basset 20s ,,.1,,. ,,. ,,.
 April: 9th By. ditto of Peter. figgit ,,.3,,10,,.

£,,037,,10,,.

Att A Commoners Meetteing Att Marblehead April 11th
 ..1692. were Chosen as a Committee Capt. John Legg
 (who is desired To keep This Commoners booke & the
 Stock³ belonging To Sd. Commoners,) mr. Ambross
 Galle Senr. & Ltt.. Robertt Bartlett, who are a Comittee
 to Act & doe in Eury Thing Relateing To The Common-
 ers, according To a form[er] order and to Render An
 Accompt To the Saide Commoners in a Yeare

³ Stock refers to the common stock or money owned jointly
 by the proprietors of the farm. See 2-158.

Alsoe at Same Time were Chozen & Appointed by the Towne & Commoners Capt. John Legg, Capt. Nathl Norden. mr. John Peach. Lt. Rob[ertt] Bartlett. mr. Wm. Woodes. mr. Richd. Grosse. Richd. Trivett mr. Erasmu[s] James. Samll Reed John Brintnell & Nathanll. Walton: who are Impowred any & Eury of them To Looke after the Common, and Stent of Catt[ell] to Errect & Repaire The ffences & Gates att The Charge of ye Commoners, & [to] driue The Common & prossicute all offenders There in According to ffor[mer] orders Contained in This booke, Esspetially Those off the Late Yeares Contained in ffolleie (47) The Penelties in Those former Yeares [are] alsoe hereby Established. And Libertie is hereby Granted to Imp[ound] all Such Cattle & horsies (whither of This Towne or others) That shall [be] found Tresspasseing, And Them to detaine till Satisfaction bee [made]

[70] The Commoners of Marblehead...are Dr..
1692

To paid Walter Phillips for making up ye fence	„—,,12,,00
Apryl To paid Thomas Darling for making 9-29 up ye fence	„—,,06,,—
— To Spent att John Deuerixes when we droue the Commons	„. . .,01,,.6
9: To Spent at William Waters: 4 ^s 6 ^d	. . .,4: . .6
May. 25..To paid John Ridan for posts & Railes for ye fence	—,,.5,,—
	<hr/> 01 09 00

To monie Remaineing dew from James Aprill Dennis Last Yeare	1,,13,,—
13 To mony that I paid James deness	001 00 00
	<hr/> £,,.2,,13,,. .

1693 To mony paid Thomas darlen a pr— [21]	00,,02 00
	<hr/> 002 15 00

Wee The Trustes for The Commoners heretofor Appointed for The Selleing and disposing of Incroached Landes in Marblehead have *disposed* Sold and Alianated Unto Richard Skinner of Sd. Towne a Smale parcell of Land Lyeing att The Lower: End of The Winde Mill Hill which Land is fower pole and nine ffootte in Length on the North west & South East sides and Two pole and Twelve ffoott. broad att The Southwest End, and att The North East End on The Sd Lande Standes a Smale house formerly built by Richard Rowland Deceased which house is on The North East of the sd. Land for The Just and full Summe off fortye Shillings in mony To Us paide for The use of The Sd. Commoners in hand befor Signeing These pressents, and accordingly hee The Sd. Richard Skinner his Heires Executrs. AdminisTratrs and Assigns is To Injoy The Same as an Absolute Estate of Inheritance for Ever Wittness our handes att Marblehead This Thirteenth day of March In the Secound Yeare of her majtys Reign Anno domini 1702/3

Wittness

Jno. Browne Cler.

To Commoners Attead

{These words, (is To Injoy The
same). Interlined in The Latter
End of This Entry was made
befor Signeing

John Legg

Richard Reith

Archibald Ferguson

[71]

1692 The Commoners of Mead, are Pr Contra— C—

By Cash Recd. of Susanah Burdure—	„—,,12,,—
Nouemr. 26 By ditto. Recd. of Roger Steeuens	„.2,,10,,—
	003 02 0

1694 @

Aprill 2 ^d , By Sundrie disbursements in The	{	,,.1,,15,,10
Last yeare by Sd. James Dennis		

By cash pd. To Capt. John Legg. To Balla— „—, 17,, 2

„.2,,13,,. .

[72] Marblehead att Same meetteing on The other side Aprill 11th. 1692 Was ordred by Generall Consent That all Swine aboue Thre monthes old: shall bee Yoaked & Ringed And soe Continued from The 20.th of this Instant to the Last of october Next, on Peneltie of Twentie shillings for Eury offence, or bee shott down⁴ or otherwise destroyed att The Pleasure of any, Espetially Thosse that shall sustaine any Damage Thereby, in This Towne And That all Geesse bee kept of ffrom The Comon from The Last off June To the 25th. of Ober next on Penaltie of 2^s pr Eury goose or Gander Soe found; or bee shott downe or otherwise destroyed att The pleasure of any according to a fformer order of This Towne And That all horssees & Mares above a Yeare old, bee forthwith ffettred or Clogged, that shall bee lett Rune on The Common after The Publickcation here off, To the Last of october next, on Penalti[e] of Twentie shillings, to bee Levied by distress on The Same or other Estate of The Owners Thereof for Eury offence, to bee pd. To the Select men for the time being, and the Trustees for the Commoners, The one Moietie for the use & Releife of the Poore of this Towne, & the other Moietie to the use off the Commoners, of All such [Law] Penalties thatt shall be Recowred according to the true Intant & meaneing hereoff, On any Horssees Naires Swaine Geesse or Cowes or otherwise in this Towne or Common

[73] Mlead Aprill 16.th 1692 @ The Comittee or Trustees for The Commoners Agreed with Walter Phillips & John his Brother for to make up & mentaine for This Yeare, all That ffence Gates and Barrs suffitiant To the Last of October next. whch parcell of ffence begins att mr. Reddins Walle at ye South side. & Runnes up to

⁴ It will be noted that horses and mares unlike swine and geese were not to be shot at pleasure. Notice also the distinction between the Selectmen representing the Tows and the Trustees representing the Commoners. A more particular explanation of the damage done by these animals will be found on 2-166

mr . . Blainer's ffence to a Great whitte Oake Tree for which hee is To haue 20^s monie to bee pd. pr Commoners Att Same time Agreed with Nathl Waltom to make up all that ffence & Gates that Lyeth between mr. Blainers ffence to the (NorthWestwards) & George Darlins ffence & to mentaine The Same Till The Last of Octobr. next for which hee is to have shillings Monie. —

Att same time Agreed with Thomas Darlin for to make up all That pcell of ffence (& keep itt up Till The Last of October next) which lieth between John Sanders of Salem & his ffather's — ffence for which hee is To haue Tenn shillings monie pr ye Comm[ons] ffurther Agreed with Sd. Darlin for to Hang The Gate att fforist Riuer Bridge & to looke After itt & keep itt well Hanged Till The Last of Octobr. next for which hee is to haue one Cowes Lease in The Common

[74] Wee whose Names are under Written Trustees for The The Commoners of Marblehead for The Alianation and dispossall of vacant & Incroched Land &c, for and in Consideration of Tenn shillings in Monie in hand unto us paide by Eleazor Ingols of Marbleheal Cooper wee have and here by doe bargaine Alianate & Sell To The afore Sd. Eleazor Ingols To him and his Heires for Euer To have and To hold a Certaine little peiec or Spott of grownd Lyeing and being in Marblehead Neare The Lyme Kill, Joyneing to mr. Gales Meddow and is There Three pole long to ye Westward. To the Southward To the Streett three pole, To the Eastward to the Streett Two pole, To ye northwards Joyneing o Elias Henly Senr. a little Garden almost Two pole, In an ununifforme Figure as itt is now ffenced and Noe otherwise dated in Marblehead January 23ly. 1695/6 @ & in The Seventh yeare of his Majties Reigne &c.

John Legg
Ambros A. gale sen.
Robart Bartlett

Wee whose names are under Written being Trustees for The Commoners of this Towne of Marblehead for the alianation and disposeall of vacant and Incroached Landes, &c, for and in Consideration of Twenty shillings in monie

in hand unto us pd. by William Watters of Marblehead, have and by These presents doe Sell alianate and dispose To him The Sd. William Watters and to his Heires and Assignes for Euer, a Certaine parcell of Land or Rockes lyeing and being where his house now Standes where formerly Stoodd the Pound in this Towne, Joyneing To mr. Richard Reedd's Land and Barne which is on itt's North East Side and is There Seven pole & halfe, is Joyneing To Tymothy Cumins Garden on The North West fflower pole, and To the Streett To the Southwestward ffive pole and halfe, and The Fruntt Streett To The South Eastward Two pole & Two ffoott or Thereabouts and is To Leave Two pole of Clearewaye betweene his— Opposite Ocrhard and his house att the Narrowest place Dated in Marblehead This 23^d Janry. 1695/6 @ and in ye Seventh yeare of his Majties Reigne

Robert Bartlett

John Legg

Ambros A gale sen

[75] We whose names are under written Trustees for the Commoners of Marblehead for ye alienation of Vacant Lands; for and in Consideration of the Summ of Twelve Shillings in hand paid to us by Susanna Burdure of the Same place Widdow; haue and doe by these presents bargain and Sell to ye afor'said Susanna Burdure her heirs and assignes a percel of Land. whereon a dwelling house| somtimes belonging to her mother | stands & lying in the Said Town near John Bartols Land Conta? Six pole and halfe in Length and Two pole in breadth bounding with the Commons on euery Side to haue and hold the Said Land to her. and her heirs and assignes — and to her and their proper use and behoof foreuer in witness of which we haue set our hands——

John Legg.

Ambros A Gall sen

Robert Bartlett

We whose names are under written Trustees for the Commoners of Marblehead for the alienation of Vacant Lands for and in consideration of the Summ of fifty Shillings in hand paid to us by Roger Steeuens, of the same place (fisherman) haue and doe by these presents bargain and Sel to the aforesd. Roger Steeuens his heirs and assignes

a parcel of Land. Lying in the Said Towne; Joining to the Land of Robert Nicholson, the Land is Six pole in Length and three pole in breadth at each end being bound-
ed with the Comons on the N. W. and. NE and S.E. and
with the Land of Robert Nicholson on the SW. to haue
and hold the said Land to him and his heirs and assigns
and theire proper use and behoof for euer in witness of
which we haue set our hands this. 26. day of nouember
1692

John Legg.

Ambros A Gall sen

Robartt Bartlett

[76] At A Meeting of the Commoners & proprietors of the towne of Marblehead Legally warned & mett March the 27th 1693. Its voted that Capt. John Legg shall keep the Commrs booke & the stock belonging to Sd. Commrs for this yeare and to record & enter all things that belong to the said Commrs

At a Meeting of the Commoners & proprietors of the towne of Marblehead legally warned & mett the 27th. of March 1693. Its voted that no sheep shall be kept upon the Commons of Marblehead in regard of the Smalnes of the said commons as also that they doe spoile the herbadge & feed of other cattell, and theirby are a lett or hinderance to the poore of this towne in hiring of Cowes⁵ from other townes, for which considerations the vote was passed & made upon the penaltie off ten shillings in money for every sheep soe trespassing & feeding upon the commons aforesaid by such as annually shall be appointed to execute the Sd. order or shall be Impowred to Look after the stint or priviledge of herbadge of the Commoners, and the abovesd. penaltie to be disposed the on halfe to

⁵ It is difficult to decide whether or not the reference to "hiring of cowes" means that the rule passed April 7, 1690 (page 2-109) has been repealed or allowed to lapse. See also 2-153 which seems to indicate that the rule of 1690 was modified by 1696 to permit lease of pasturage to strangers after the townspeople were cared for.

the use of the commoners & the other halfe to the use of the poor of said towne.

John Legg Recordr
Archibald Fergusson towne.
Clerk in Marblehead.

Wee whose Names are under written Trustee's for The Commoners of Marblehead for The Allianation of vacant Landes, and In Crochments &c for and in Consideration of One pounce & Tenn shillings -- in hand paid unto us, by Robert Codner of This Towne of Marblehead, for which wee haue, and by These presents do Bargaine and Sell To The aforesd. Robt. Codner his Heires and Assignes for Euer a Certaine parcell of Land and Rockes, whereon his now old dweleing house Standes neare mr. Richd. Reedes Hill Land in Marblehead bounded with The Sd. Reedd's Hill Lande on The North East is Three pole and halfe and Three foott, on ye North West Joineing To Jamina Lukis's Garden & is fflower pole and Six foott, and To The South East Joineing To William Waters Land Fower Pole, and To The South West to the Streett Fower pole and nine foott, To The Truth here off wee Subscribe by The Authorities of the Comonners This first day of Aprill 1695 @ In the 7ly of Their Majties Reigne &c.

John Legg
Ambe A gall sen
Robert Bartlett

[77] At A meeting of the Commoners & proprietors of the tow[ne] of Marblehead Legally warned & meet March the 27th. 1693. Its voted that Leift: James Dennis, mr. wm: woods, mr. Robert Goodwin & mr. John Norman all of Marblehead are the persons chosen all & every of them & by these presents wee give them & every of them ovr full p^ower to looke after the Stint of Cattell for herbadge this yeare made & recorded in the Com-mone[rs] booke & by a gnrll Court order settled as theirin will appeare and that no person keep or cause to be kept any more cattell of what kind soever then is allowed them by their sd. priviledge And we further Impower the per-

sons abovenamed to take notice off & to take up any Such cattell trespassing, and are also Impowered to prosecute at Law all trespassers whatever that doe keep or cause to be kept any more cattell of what kind soever more then their stint or priviledge allowes them and to take of every person soe trespassing for each Cowe ten shillings in money & for every horse twintie shillings soe often as they shall be found trespassing on the Commns or any proprieticie not fenced in the towne ship off Marblehead, which penalties are according to former usages recorded in the Commrs booke.

John Legg Recordr
Archibald Fergusson towne.
Clerk in Marblehead.

Wee whose names are under written being Trustee's for The Commoners and proprietrs of Marblehead for The Allianation & disposell of vacant and Incroched Landes &c. in This Towne: for and in Consideration of one pound & Tenn shillings, in hand paide unto us by Richard Trivitt of This Towne of Marblehead Cordewinder, for which wee have and by These presents doe Bargaine & Sell To him the Sd. Richd. Trivitt his Heires and Assignes for Euer, a Certain parcell of Land where on his dwelleing house & Barne now Standeth in Marblehead, bounded viz. To The Steett where his house is To ye North West Three Pole, and on The South East where his barne is Three pole, and Eight pole and Three Foott on ye NEast side joyneing To Benja. Henly's Garden and on The Sowth wast side To the land by John Brintuell[s] house Eight Pole and Three foott, To The Truth hereof wee subscribe by The Authoritie of Sr. Commoners This First daye of April 1695 @ and in The Seventh yeare of Theire Majties Reigne &c

John Legg.
Ambros A gall sr
Robart Bartlett

[78] Wee whose Names are under written Trustees for The Comoners of Marblehead, for The Aliation and dis-
poseall of vacant Landes and in Croachements &c. for and

in Consideration of Tenn shillings monie in hand paide unto us by Joseph Bubbee of This Towne for which wee have and by Theese prossents doe Bargaine & Sell To him ye Sd. Joseph Bubbee and his Heires for Ever a Certaine spott or Strip of Land on The North Sd. of his orchard Joyneing To his old house next To mr. Devrix Farme, dated in Marblehead This Thirteenth day September 1695 @ ———

John Legg
Ambros A gall sn
Robart Bartlett

Wee whose names are under written Trustees for The Comoners of Marblehead for The alianation and disposeall of vacant Landes & Incroachements &c. for and in Consideration of Twelve shillings monie in hand paide unto us by Benja James of This Towne, for which wee have and by These presents doe hereby Alianate Bargaine and Sell To him and his Heires and Assignes for Ever a Certaine Strip of Land on The North East End of his House, between The house of Phillip Pearce Late of This Towne and his Now garden fronteing To The Street and a smale Strip on ye wester Side of his shop Runneing square with ye. Ende of his Barne The whole Ranging in Front square wth. his shop dated in Marblehead September 30th 1695 @

John Legg
Ambros A gale sen
Robart Bartlett

Wee whose names are under written Trustees for The Comoners of Marblehead for The Alianation and disposeall of vacant Landes and Incroachments &c. for and in Consideration of Thirtee shillings monie in hand paide unto us by Capt. Nathaniell Norden and William Waters both of This Towne To Each one Moyettie of all The Incroached Landes That is now within fence betweene The Land of Capt. Samull Legg on the South West, and The Land of mr. John Codner on The North East, fronteing To the South East being all and Singular The premisses as [is], before Exprest from one Ende to The other Except The Sd. mr. John Codners Right of meddow, To have and To hold The Sd. Land To Them and

Theire Heires and Assignes for Ever, dated in Marblehead his Thirteenth daye of September 1695 @

John Legg

Ambros A Galle Senr

Robartt Bartlett

[79] Wee whose Names are underwritten Trustees for The Commoners of the Towne of Marblehead for The Allianation and disposeall of vacant and Incroached Landes &c. for and in Consideration of one pounce Fower shillings in Monie in hand pd. unto us for The use of Sd. Commoners, by William Peach of This Towne, for which wee have and by Theese pressents doe Bargaine Alianate & Sell unto him the sd. William Peach his Heires and Successors for Ever, a parcell of Incroached Land anywhere now in fence Adjoineing To That homestead where now lives The Sd. William Peach in This Towne, Comonly called & knowne by the Name of Harttes liveing dated in Marblehead This Seventh daye of November 1695 @ and in the Seventh yeare of his Majties Reigne.

John Legg

Ambros A gall senor.

Robart Bartlett

Wee whose Names are underwritten Trustees for The Commoners of This Towne of Marblehead, for The allianation and dispossal of vacant and Incroached Landes @c. for and in Consideration of Two poundes in Monie in hand paide unto us for The use of Sd. Commoners by John Riddeng of This Towne, for which wee have and by These presents doe Bargaine Allianate and sell unto him the Sd. John Riddeing his Heires and Assignes for Ever a parcell of Incroached Land any where with in The fence as itt now Standes now joyneing To and Round about that house and Land where now hee Lives neare The Stockes in this Towne, where Last Lived and died his Father mr Theadeius Riddeng. Dated in Marblehead This Nineteenth daye of December 1695 @ & in the Seventh yeare of his Majties Reign

Wittness Jno. Browne Towne Cler.

John Legg

Ambrose A gall ser

Robert Bartlett

(To be continued)



GLOUCESTER HARBOR

SHIP REGISTERS OF THE DISTRICT OF GLOUCESTER, 1789-1875.

COMPILED FROM THE GLOUCESTER CUSTOMS RECORDS,
NOW IN POSSESSION OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

The work of assembling in alphabetical order the names of all vessels registered at the Port of Gloucester from 1789 to 1875, together with date of registry, type of vessel, tonnage, measurements, owners and masters, is presented in form similar to the Ship Registers of Salem and Beverly, published by the Essex Institute in 1900, and the Ship Registers of Newburyport, also published by the Institute in 1937.

The District of Gloucester comprised not only the port of Gloucester but Rockport and Manchester as well. All records to 1900 have been deposited in the Essex Institute.

Included in this compilation are the early registers which were sent to Washington many years ago in connection with the French spoliation claims, and were on deposit in the Treasury Department. The years 1845 to 1857, which are missing from the Gloucester Customs Records deposited at the Essex Institute, have been supplied from Department of Commerce copies in the National Archives. Microfilms of these Registers were supplied by the National Archives to the Peabody Museum of Salem, where they were transcribed by Mr. Ralph D. Merritt of the National Archives Project, through the courtesy of Mr. J. W. McElroy, Deputy Archivist for New England. These were in poor condition and out of a total of 342 Registers, 60 were so mutilated or illegible that they could not be transcribed. Consequently only 282 Registers for this period are included in this publication.

It is believed that the list will be found to be fairly accurate and comprehensive as pertaining to foreign-bound vessels belonging to this district. It should be remembered that, in the names of masters of vessels, those only are given who happened to be in command of a ves-

sel when it changed ownership. There were other masters of the same vessel, in many cases, whose names it is not possible to obtain from the registers. The hailing port of each vessel is not given, if belonging to Gloucester.

The Essex Institute is indebted to Col. Lawrence Waters Jenkins, Director of the Peabody Museum, Salem, and to Mr. Walter Muir Whitehill, Assistant Director of the same institution, for valuable suggestions in the compilation of this work.

A. I. FRANKLIN, sch., Southport, Me., 87 47/95 tons; built Essex, 1854; temporary, length, 70 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 19 ft. 6 in.; depth, 7 ft. 3 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Jan. 3, 1856, "Prev. Enrollment no. 136, July 11, 1854," "Surrendered Feb. 25, 1856, Wiscasset, Me." Frederick Reed, — McKeown, Jackson Hodgdon, Southport, Me., owners; Frederick Reed, master.

A. M. HOWE, sch., 53 95/100 tons; built Essex, 1857; length, 65 ft.; breadth, 19 8/10 ft.; depth 7 5/10 ft.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Nov. 27, 1874, "Enrollment no. 172 issued June 5, 1873." Russell D. Terry, owner; Russell D. Terry, master.

A. W. DODD, sch., 45 49/100 tons; built Essex, 1860; length, 63 ft. 2 in.; breadth, 19 ft. 3 in.; depth, 6 ft. 6 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Oct. 28, 1870, "Enrollment no. 56 issued Feb. 1, 1868." James G. Tarr, David Tarr, Stephen Dodd, Robert Fears, owners; William S. Joyce, master.

ABALENA, sch., Harpswell, Me.; 20 12/95 tons; built Essex, 1839; temporary, length, 38 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 11 ft. 10 in.; depth, 5 ft. 2 in.; square stern, no figurehead. Reg. Nov. 14, 1844; "Enrollment no. 23, Apr. 4 1842." James Johnson, Isaac Johnson of Harpswell, Me., owners; James Johnson, master.

ABBY JONES, brig, 109 53/95 tons; built Maine, 1851; length, 98 ft.; breadth, 30 ft.; one deck, two masts, square stern. Reg. —, 1856, Previous Register Boston, June 16, 1856, "Vessel condemned and sold at Public Auction, St. Thomas, Mar. 10, 1860." David S. Day, Obadiah Woodbury, Charles Fitz, — Curtis, owners; William Tucker, master.

ABIGAIL, sch., 61 34/95 tons; built Bradford, 1785; length, 49 ft. 3 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 4 in.; depth, 7 ft. 3 in.

Reg. Jan. 29, 1791. James Pearson of Gloucester, owner; Robert Henderson, master.

ABIGAIL, sch., 61 34/95 tons; built Bradford, 1789; length, 59 ft. 1 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 4 in.; depth, 7 ft. 3 in. Reg. July 9, 1794. William Pearson of Gloucester, owner; Henry Smith, master.

ABIGAIL, sch., 77 46/95 tons; built Bradford, before May 16, 1789; length, 63 ft.; breadth, 16 ft. 8 in.; depth, 8 ft. 4 in. Reg. Jan. 15, 1799. William Pearson of Gloucester, owner; Theodore Stanwood, master.

ABIGAIL AND ELIZA, sch., 119 8/95 tons; built Northport, Me., 1836; length, 74 ft. 7 in.; breadth, 21 ft. 7 in.; depth, 8 ft. 6 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Apr. 12, 1839, "Enrollment no. 61 Belfast, July 22, 1837." William Ellery, Matthew Gaffney, Michael Gaffney, owners; Thayles Curtis, master. Reg. July 21, 1841, "Temporary Register at Norfolk, Va., Nov. 23, 1839." William Y. Davis, Michael Gaffney, Daniel Gaffney, owners; Benjamin Atkins, master. Reg. Nov. 29, 1843, "Enrollment no. 53 issued June 30, 1842." William F. Davis, Michael Gaffney, Daniel Gaffney, owners; Charles Sutton, master.

ABIGAIL BROWN, sch., 47 50/100 tons; built Essex, 1850; length, 62 ft. 4 in.; breadth, 19 ft. 2 in.; depth, 7 ft. 3 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Nov. 22, 1867, "Enrollment no. 71 issued Apr. 1, 1867." Edward E. Burnham, George Brown, James McNeill, owners; James McNeill, master. Reg. Jan. 16 1872, "Enrollment no. 159 issued May 11, 1869." George W. Plumer, owner; Gilman S. Williams, master. Reg. Jan. 2, 1873, "Enrollment no. 119 issued May 18, 1872." George W. Plumer, owner; John F. Norwood, master.

ABIGAIL C. WOODBURY, sch., 71 68/100 tons; built Essex, 1867; length, 73 ft. 4 in.; breadth, 22 ft. 4 in.; depth, 7 ft. 9 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billethead. Reg. Nov. 5, 1867, "Enrollment no. 174 issued June 5, 1867." Horatio Babson, David C. Babson of Rockport, owners; George W. Walen, master.

ACCUMULATOR, sch. Castine, Me.; 58 57/95 tons; built Essex, 1834; temporary, length, 56 ft. 10 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 2½ in.; depth 7 ft. 3½ in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Jan. 5, 1850, Previous Enrollment Mar. 10, 1839. Benjamin D. Gay, William A. Willard, Benjamin Coombs, Castine, Me., owners; John Collins, master.

ACTIVE, brig, 118 35/95 tons; built Falmouth, 1801;

length, 71 ft. 5 in.; breadth, 21 ft. 10 in.; depth, 8 ft. 10 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern. Reg. May 28, 1804, "Temporary Reg. no. 190 issued at Boston, May 3, 1804." William Pearce, Henry Pearce, owners; Mark Pool, jr., master. Reg. July 28, 1806. Henry Pearce, owner; Stephen Knights, master. Reg. June 15, 1810. William Pearce, Henry Pearce, owners; Joseph Babson, master.

ACTIVE, sch., square stern, Manchester, 112 70/95 tons; built Newburyport 1803; length 62 ft. 7 in.; breadth 20 ft. 8 in.; depth, 10 ft. 4 in.; Reg. Dec. 23, 1811, "Enrollment no. 28, June 3, 1811." Ezekiel Leach of Manchester, owner; Daniel Cross, master.

ACTIVE, sch., Provincetown, 37 67/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1826; temporary, length, 47 ft. 8 in.; breadth, 14 ft. 6 in.; depth, 6 ft. 4 in.; pink stern, no figurehead. Reg. Feb. 28, 1827, "Enrollment no. 61, May 22, 1826. James Smalley, Abraham Smalley, Joseph H. Smith of Provincetown, owners; James Smalley, master.

ACTIVE, sch., pink stern, Cranberry Isle, Me., 45 35/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1829; temporary, length, 50 ft. 8 in.; breadth, 15 ft. 5 in.; depth, 6 ft. 9 in. Reg. Nov. 22, 1836, "Enrollment no. 54, Apr. 8, 1829." Benjamin Spurling of Cranberry Isle, Me., owner; Joseph Manchester, master.

ADAMS, sch., 50 31/95 tons; built Newbury, 1783; length, 43 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 15 ft. 1 in.; depth, 7 ft. 3 in. Reg. Feb. 16, 1792. Joseph Proctor of Gloucester, owner; William Allen, master. Reg. Aug. 6, 1798. Joseph Procter of Gloucester, owner; Stephen Brown, master.

ADAMS, sch., square stern, 72 73/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1825; length, 59 ft.; breadth, 17 ft. 8 in.; depth, 8 ft. 1 in.; billet head. Reg. Jan. 6, 1826, "Enrollment no. 74 issued July 11, 1825." Samuel Lane, Epes Lane, owners; David Lane, jr., master. Reg. Dec. 11, 1826, "Enrollment no. 73 issued July 19, 1826." Samuel Lane, Epes Lane, owners; David Lane, master. Reg. Mar. 1, 1828, "Enrollment no. 77 issued July 5, 1827." Winthrop Sargent, David Worcester, owners; Epes Ellery, master.

ADAMS, sch., pink stern, 24 45/95 tons; built Ipswich, 1804; temporary, length, 40 ft. 3 in.; breadth, 11 ft. 4 in.; depth, 6 ft. 2 in. Reg. Dec. 5, 1822, "Enrollment no. 26 May 5, 1804." Reuben Carver of Vinalhaven, Me., owner; Reuben Carver, master.

ADRIATIC, brig, square stern, 145 52/95 tons; built Medford, 1817; length, 83 ft. 4 in.; breadth, 19 ft. 8 in.; depth,

9 ft. 10 in.; billet head. Reg. Dec. 27, 1837, "Temporary Reg. no. 308 issued at Boston, Dec. 21, 1837." George H. Rogers, Obadiah Woodbury, Thales Curtis, owners; Thales Curtis, master. Reg. Dec. 12, 1838. George H. Rogers, Obadiah Woodbury, owners; Charles Saunders, master. Reg. Nov. 19, 1841. Nathaniel Rogers, owner; Nathaniel Rogers, master.

ADVENTURE, sch., 53 47/95 tons; built Kingston, 1787; length, 57 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 2 in.; depth, 6 ft. 7 in. Reg. April 23, 1800. Daniel Rogers, Jr. of Gloucester, owner; William Dolliver, master. Reg. Jan. 14, 1804. Daniel Rogers, jr., Zebulon Stanwood, owners; Isaac Wharff, master.

ADVENTURE, sch., 53 47/95 tons; built Kingston, 1791; length, 57 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 2 in.; depth, 6 ft. 7 in. Reg. Aug. 24, 1798. John Gorham, Agent to Dan'l Rogers of Gloucester, owner; William Kerham, master.

ADVENTURE, sch., 92 71/95 tons; built Newbury, 1796; length, 65 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 20 ft. 2 in.; depth, 8 ft. 2 in. Reg. June 15, 1796. John Oaks and James Millett, both of Gloucester, owners; William Oaks, master. Reg. Dec. 14, 1797. John Oaks and James Millett, both of Gloucester, owners; William Oaks, master.

AGENORIA, sch., square stern, 86 86/95 tons; built Newbury, 1812; length, 63 ft. 5 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 10 in.; depth 8 ft. 5 in. Reg. Nov. 20, 1819, "Register no. 18 issued at Boston, Jan. 20, 1819." Fitz William Sargent, owner; William Winter, master. Reg. Oct. 23, 1820. Winthrop Sargent, Fitz William Sargent, owners; John Harraden, jr., master.

AGILE, brig, square stern, 140 tons; built Bowdoinham, Me., 1829; length, 81 ft. 10½ in.; breadth, 23 ft. 10½ in.; depth 8 ft. 3 in. Reg. Nov. 24, 1834, "Temporary Reg. no. 252 issued at Boston & Charlestown Aug. 2, 1834." Elias Davison, John W. Lowe, Michael A. Parsons, owners; Michael A. Parsons, master.

AGNES, sch., square stern, Boston, 67 86/95 tons; length, 60 ft. 11 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 11 in.; depth, 6 ft. 10½ in. Reg. May 20, 1814, temporary, "Adjudged forfeited for a breach of the U. S. laws, by a decree of the Mass. District Ct. at Boston Mar. term, 1814." Joseph N. Bacon of Boston, owner; Joseph N. Bacon, master.

ALABAMA, sch., 69 36/95 tons; built Essex, 1839; length, 59 ft. 3 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 9 in.; depth 8 ft.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. May 8, 1854, "Pre-

vious enrollment, Mar., 1852." Epes Young, Epes Young, jr., owners; master not given.

ALBATROSS, sch., Freeport, Me., 45 38/100 tons; built Clinton, Conn., 1839; temporary, length, 59 ft. 2 in.; breadth 20 ft. 5 in.; depth, 6 ft. 12 in.; square stern, billet head; Reg. Oct. 28, 1870, "Enrollment no. 45 issued at Portland, Me.; Oct. 30, 1869." C. H. Pettingill, John Blethen, R. S. Soule, Josiah Merrill, all of Freeport, Me., George H. Crockett, R. N. York, Charles Merrill, James Hinckley, Edward Thurston, Stephen C. Munsey, A. B. Walker, all of Portland, Me., J. R. Bagley of Boston, owners; Andrew Gould of Freeport, master.

ALBION, sch., square stern, Camden, Me., 58 66/95 tons; built Phippsburg, Me., 1825, temporary; length, 51 ft. 10½ in.; breadth, 15 ft. 8¾ in.; depth, 8 ft. 4¼ in.; billet head. Reg. Dec. 12, 1840, "Enrollment no. 99 issued at Camden, Nov. 7, 1839." Patrick McLaughlen of Camden, Me., owner; Patrick McLaughlen, master.

ALEXANDRIA, sch., 165 26/95 tons; built Fairfield, Conn., 1832; length, 80 ft.; breadth, 20 ft. 8 in.; depth, 10 ft. 1 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. —, 1855, "Prev. Reg. no. 96, Boston, Mar. 23, 1855." Eli F. Stacy, William P. Dolliver, owners; Mark Lane, jr., master. Reg. Mar. 28, 1857, "Prev. Enrollment, no. 183, Nov. 21, 1856." Eli F. Stacey, William P. Dolliver, owners; Benjamin R. Kidder, master.

ALFALFA, sch., square stern, 79 91/95 tons; built Essex, 1851; length, 67 ft. 7 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 10 in.; depth, 7 ft. 2 in.; billet head. Reg. Dec. 10, 1858, "Enrollment no. 78 issued Apr. 3, 1856." Charles Parkhurst, William P. Parkhurst, owners; Andrew J. Iverson, master. Reg. Dec. 14, 1859, "Enrollment no. 102 issued Apr. 5, 1859." Charles Parkhurst, William P. Parkhurst, owners; Andrew J. Iverson, master.

ALICE M. LEWIS, sch., elliptic stern, 66 82/100 tons; built Essex, 1869; length, 73 ft. 5 in.; breadth, 21 ft. 1 in.; depth, 7 ft. 5 in.; one deck, two masts, billet head. Reg. Nov. 30, 1870, "Enrollment no. 197 issued July 23, 1869." Jesse Lewis, Joseph Friend, James A. Hamilton, all of Manchester, Burley S. Crombie, Willard R. Burnham, Daniel A. Burnham, all of Essex, owners; Edward Stapleton, master. Reg. Dec. 2, 1872, sch., square stern, "Enrollment no. 103 issued Apr. 24, 1871." Jesse Lewis, Joseph Friend, James A. Hamilton, all of Manchester, Burley C. Crombie, Willard R. Burnham, Daniel A. Burnham, all of Essex, owners; Jesse

Lewis, master. Reg. Dec. 3, 1873, "Enrollment no. 104 issued Apr. 14, 1873." Jesse Lewis, Joseph Friend, James A. Hamilton, all of Manchester, Burley S. Crombie, Willard R. Burnham, Daniel A. Burnham, all of Essex, owners; Jesse Lewis, master.

ALLIE H. BELDEN, sch., Hartford, 169 50/100 tons; built Hartford, 1870; temporary, length, 104 ft.; breadth, 28 5/10 ft.; depth, 7 ft.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Dec. 13, 1871, "Enrollment no. 32, issued at Middletown, Ct., Dec. 9, 1870." Elnathan Mayo of Chat-ham, E. H. Williams, M. R. Brazos, S. & E. S. Belden, Foster & Co., Abner Church, E. Taylor & Co., J. F. Phillips, C. L. Phillips, Henry T. Bronson, R. F. Blodgett & Co., Wm. Thompson, J. S. Hassey of Hartford, Ct., H. G. Beaumont, William D. Beaumont of E. Hartford, Ct., William T. Denham of Glastonbery, Ct., L. Davis of Elizabethport, N. J., C. M. Edwards of Saysville, N. Y., Nickerson & Emory, Julia A. Harding, Ephraim Taylor, Joseph Emory, Elijah Crosby, Henry Bates, Clement Hendrick, Roland Mullett, Betsey Harding, George Taylor, Washington Talor of Chat-ham, William Bates of New Bedford, Lewis F. Smith of Harwich, owners; Elnathan Mayo, master.

ALLIGATOR, brig, 89 26/95 tons; built Newbury, 1798; length, 64 ft.; breadth, 18 ft. 2 in.; depth, 8 ft. 8 in. Reg. July 16, 1798. William Sargent of Gloucester, owner; Abraham Williams, master. Reg. April 12, 1800. George Taylor of Salem, owner; George Taylor, master.

ALONZO, brig, square stern, Manchester, 130 8/95 tons; built Duxbury, 1806; length, 68 ft. 10 in.; breadth, 20 ft. 3 1/2 in.; depth 10 ft. 9 in. Reg. June 10, 1806. Abiel Burges of Manchester, owner; Abiel Burges, master.

ALVA, snow, square stern, 153 23/95 tons; built Orland, 1805; length, 80 ft. 9 in.; breadth, 23 ft. 1 in.; depth, 9 ft. 5 in. Reg. Feb. 21, 1810, "Temporary reg. no. 210 issued at Boston June 26, 1809." William Coffin, owner; William H. Bowers, master.

AMARANTH, sch., square stern, New Castle N. H., 65 32/95 tons; built Essex, 1837; temporary, length, 59 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 9 in.; depth, 7 ft. 6 in.; billet head. Reg. Dec. 12, 1838, "Enrollment no. 79 issued Aug. 30, 1838." Thomas Tarlton of New Castle, N. H., owner; Benjamin Batson, master.

AMAZON, brig, 202 12/95 tons; built Salem, 1824; length, 86 ft. 5 in.; breadth, 23 ft.; depth, 11 ft. 6 in.; two decks, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. July 19, 1837,

"Register no. 18, issued at Salem July 24, 1835." William Babson, John Somes, William Grover, owners; William Grover, master. Reg. —, 1845, "Prev. Register no. 6, July 9, 1837." John Somes, Edward Babson, William Grover, owners; Edward Babson, master. Reg. Nov. 10, 1845. John Somes, Edward Babson, William Grover, owners; Edward Babson, master. Temporary Reg. Nov. 19, 1846, "Prev. Reg. 1846." Edward Babson, John Somes, and others, owners; — Davis, master. Reg. Dec. 1, 1846. Same owners. Reg., Nov. 21, 1849, "Prev. Register no. 12, Nov. 19, 1846." Edward Babson, Solomon H. Davis, owners; Solomon H. Davis, master.

AMERICA, sch., pink stern, Georgetown, Me., 16 70/95 tons; built Essex, 1813, temporary; length, 35 ft.; breadth, 11 ft.; depth, 5 ft. 1 in. Reg. Nov. 6, 1835. James Williams of Georgetown, Me., owner; James Williams, master.

AMERICA, sch., Bucksport, Me., 27 84/95 tons; built Manchester, 1828; temporary, length, 40 ft. 10 in.; breadth, 12 ft. 8 in.; depth, 6 ft. 3½ in.; one deck, two masts, pink stern, billet head. Reg. July 6, 1855, "Prev. Enrollment no. 25, Feb. 17, 1851." John Dunn, William Black, Bucksport, Me., owners; John Dunn, master.

AMERICAN EAGLE, sch., square stern, Lynn, 34 81/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1829, temporary; length, 46 ft.; breadth, 14 ft. 6 in.; depth, 6 ft. 1½ in. Reg. Apr. 1, 1833. Henry Wardwell of Lynn, owner; Henry Wardwell, master.

AMERICAN STANDARD, sch., pink stern, Pawtucket, 33 46/95 tons; built Essex, 1828, temporary; length, 44 ft. 5 in.; breadth, 13 ft. 7 in.; depth, 6 ft. 5½ in. Reg. Apr. 18, 1843, "Enrollment no. 54 issued Apr. 5, 1828." Alanson Thayer of Pawtucket, owner; Reuben Phillips, master.

AMEY AND POLLY, sloop, square stern, Thomaston, Me., 48 79/95 tons; built Westport, Me., 1817; temporary, length, 52 ft. 5 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 7 in.; depth, 6 ft. 7 in. Reg. Sept. 14, 1840, "Enrollment no. 60 issued Aug. 22, 1839 at the District of Waldoborough." Charles Spear, Jonathan Crockett of Thomaston, Me., owners; Nathaniel Guptill, master.

AMITY, sch., square stern, Boston, 93 tons; built Newbury, 1818, temporary; length, 68 ft. 4 in.; breadth, 19 ft. 7½ in.; depth, 7 ft. 11½ in. Reg. Mar. 3, 1821, "Enrollment no. 25 issued Apr. 23, 1818." Jonathan Dorr of Boston, owner; Oliver G. Lane, master.

ANDREW J. HORTON, sch., Gt. Egg Harbor, N. J., 154 31/95 tons; built Cape May, N. J., 1845, temporary; length,

83 ft. 2 in.; breadth, 25 ft.; depth, 8 ft. 3 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern. Reg. Sept. 11, 1856, "Prev. Enrollment, Great Egg Harbor, Mar. 8, 1855." Thomas P. Clark, E. L. B. Wales, Reuben Corson, Thomas —, James Smith, Edward Corson, Cape May, N. J., S. S. Thorp, J. O. Thorp, N. Y., owners; Josiah F. Rogers, master.

ANGENORA, sch., square stern, Chatham, 30 58/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1833, temporary; length, 44 ft. 9 in.; breadth, 13 ft. 6½ inches; depth, 5 ft. 11 in. Reg. Dec. 31, 1836, "Enrollment no. 91 issued Aug. 1, 1835." Thomas Sparrow, Josiah Hardy, jr., William Patterson of Chatham, owners; William Patterson, master.

ANN, sch., square stern, 91 18/95 tons; built Cohasset, 1814; length, 67 ft. 3 in.; breadth, 19 ft. 9 in.; depth, 7 ft. 11 in. Reg. Apr. 14, 1825, "Temporary Reg. no. 71 issued at Boston Apr. 9, 1825." Benjamin Atkins, William Stevens, owners; Benjamin Atkins, master.

ANNA, sch., square stern, Yarmouth, 57 53/95 tons; built Scarboro, 1793, temporary; length, 54 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 5 in.; depth 6 ft. 10 in. Reg. Aug. 5, 1807, "Enrollment no. 89 granted in the district of Kennebunk, May 5, 1807." John Hedge of Yarmouth, owner; John Hedge, master.

ANNAH, sch., square stern, Lubec, Me., 70 13/95 tons; built Essex, 1851, temporary; length, 62 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 3 in.; depth, 7 ft. 1 in.; billet head. Reg. Dec. 4, 1860, "Enrollment no. 84 issued Mar. 3, 1860." Benjamin W. Coggin, owner; Benjamin W. Coggin, master.

ANN AND MARY, sch., square stern, 79 73/95 tons; built Amesbury, 1806; length, 63 ft. 7 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 11 in.; depth, 7 ft. 8 in. Reg. Jan. 8, 1810. James Mansfield, owner; Thomas Davis, master. Reg. Dec. 21, 1810, "Enrollment no. 14, May 18, 1810." James Mansfield owner; Thomas Davis master. Reg. Nov. 26, 1816, "Enrollment no. 18 granted, Apr. 19, 1811." Reg. Dec. 19, 1817, "Enrollment no. 51 granted June 25, 1817." Reg. Feb. 15, 1821, "Enrollment no. 42 granted May 8, 1818." James Mansfield, owner; Thomas Davis, master.

ANN ELIZA, sch., square stern, 58 43/100 tons; built Gloucester, 1860; length 67 ft. 9 in.; breadth, 21 ft.; depth, 7 ft. 3 in.; billet head. Reg. Nov. 30, 1868, "Enrollment no. 50 issued Mar. 1, 1866." John J. Pew, Charles H. Pew, John Pew, James Bowie, owners; James Bowie, master.

ANNIE E. FRIEND, sch., square stern, 62 55/100 tons; built Kennebunkport, Me., 1866; length, 72 ft. 4 in.; breadth, 20 ft. 8 in.; depth, 7 ft. 3 in.; billet head. Reg. Nov. 2 1870, "Enrollment no. 28 issued Feb. 6, 1867." David Parkhurst, Robert Fears, owners; John T. Staples, master.

ANNIE HOOPER, sch., square stern, 69 27/100 tons; built Newburyport, 1868; length, 74 ft. 65 in.; breadth, 20 ft. 9 in.; depth, 7 ft. 6 in.; billet head. Reg. Nov. 29, 1870, "Enrollment no. 140 issued June 4, 1870." Thomas J. Knowles, Benjamin Maddocks, Ronald Beaton, owners; Ronald Beaton, master.

ANNISQUAM, sch., pink stern, Bremen, Me., 53 5/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1828, temporary; length, 53 ft. 10 in.; breadth, 16 ft.; depth, 7 ft. 1 in. Reg. Mar. 24, 1842, "Enrollment no. 60 issued Apr. 20, 1840." Harvey Knowlton of Bremen, Me., owner; Harvey Knowlton, master.

ANN JANE, sch., pink stern, Boothbay, Me., 34 75/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1814, temporary; length, 46 ft. 8 in.; breadth, 13 ft. 2 in.; depth, 6 ft. 5½ in. Reg. Dec. 22, 1820, "Enrollment no. 65 granted, Aug. 24, 1816." Samuel Thompson, William Thompson of Boothbay, Me., owners; William Thompson, master.

ANN MARIA, sch., Truro, 68 7/95 tons; built Essex, 1850, temporary; length, 62 ft.; breadth, 18 ft. 4 in.; depth, 6 ft. 11 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Mar. 17, 1853, "Prev. Enrollment no. 34, Mar. 11, 1852." Benjamin Coan, John G. Small, Levi G. Small, Richard S. Small, Richard Atwood, James Stevens of Truro, owners.

ANTHEA GODFREY, sch., square stern, Wilmington, Del., 182 28/100 tons; built Wilmington, Del., 1867, temporary; length, 95 ft.; breadth, 31 ft. 1 in.; depth, 7 ft. 7 in.; billet head. Reg. June 26, 1868, "Enrollment no. 31, issued at Wilmington, Del., June 26, 1867." Joseph Godfrey, John Jones, Thomas McClans, James Grubb, jr., Richard Shaw, Wm. S. Hilles, John Russell, Wm. H. Quinn, M. M. Child, Robert Bunie, Robert Jones, Sarah Southard, all of Wilmington, Del., Louis Squire & Sons, Thomas P. Cooper, Joseph E. Corson, all of N. Y. City, Burk, McCaulley & Co. of Wilmington, Del., owners; Joseph Godfrey, master.

APHRODITE, sch., square stern, Wellfleet, 58 27/100 tons; built Essex, 1860, temporary; length 69 ft.; breadth, 19 ft. 8 in.; depth, 7 ft. 5 in.; billet head. Reg. Apr. 17, 1871,

"Enrollment no. 37 issued Feb. 1, 1869." William S. Snow, owner, William S. Snow, master.

ARAB, sch., Dennis, 52 52/95 tons; built Essex, 1835, temporary; length, 54 ft. 4 in.; breadth, 15 ft. 1 in.; depth, 7 ft.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. —, 1848, "Prev. Enrollment Mar. 28, 1846." Owner and master not given.

AREQUIPA, sch., square stern, 71 95/100 tons; built Essex, 1865; length, 73 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 21 ft. 1 in.; depth, 7 ft. 7 in.; billet head. Reg. Nov. 23, 1867, "Enrollment no. 6 issued Jan. 20, 1866." Joseph Rowe, Horace Merry, William H. Jordan, owners; Horace Merry, master. Reg. Dec. 2, 1868, "Enrollment no. 69 issued Mar. 11, 1868." Joseph Rowe, Horace Merry, William H. Jordan, owners; Horace Merry, master.

ARETHUSA, bark, 320 34/95 tons; built Duxbury. 1838; length, 107 ft. 3 in.; breadth, 25 ft. 9 in.; depth, 12 ft. 10½ in.; two decks, three masts, square stern, figure head. Reg. —, 1856, "Prev. Register, Boston, Jan. 3, 1856." George H. Rogers, owner; William E. Herrick, master. Reg. No. 27, 1857. — Homans, owner; George H. Rogers, master. Reg. Nov. 28, 1857. David White, owner; Charles A. Homans, master.

ARGO, sch., square stern, York, Me.; 53 tons; built Essex, 1824, temporary; length, 52 ft. 11 in.; breadth, 16 ft.; depth, 7 ft. 1½ in. Reg. Nov. 14, 1838, "Enrollment no. 161 issued Oct. 20, 1837." James Donnell, Richard Perkins, Jeremiah Brooks, all of York, Me., owners; James Donnell, master.

ARGO, sch., Kittery, Me., 32 tons; built Essex, 1828, temporary; length, 44 ft.; breadth, 13 ft. 4 in.; depth, 6 ft. 4 in.; one deck, two masts, pink stern. Reg. Jan. 7, 1831, "Enrollment no. 44 issued Apr. 2, 1829." John Jenkins, jr., John Jenkins, Paul Jenkins, all of Kittery, Me., Stephen Jenkins, Portsmouth, N. H., owners; John Jenkins, jr., master.

ARGO, sch., Jonesport, Me., 23 25/95 tons; built Essex, 1839, temporary; length, 39 ft. 10 in.; breadth, 12 ft. 2 in.; depth, 5 ft. 7 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Nov. 6, 1854, "Prev. Enrollment, May 3 1852." John Shorey, jr., Gilbert B. Marston, Jonesport, Me., owners; John Shorey, jr., master.

ARGONAUT, sch., Vinalhaven, Me., 26 23/95 tons; built Ipswich, 1815, temporary; length, 40 ft. 6 in.; breadth 12 ft. 5 in.; depth 6 ft. 1 in.; one deck, two masts, pink stern.

Reg. No. 24, 1825, "Enrollment no. 5 granted Mar. 8, 1817." Reuben Carver, Silvanus Banks, both of Vinalhaven, Me., owners; Silvanus Banks, master.

ARGONAUT, sch., 92 42/95 tons; built Dartmouth, 1819; length, 65 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 11 in.; depth, 8 ft. 7 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern. Reg. May 19, 1832, "Temporary Reg. No. 16a. issued at Boston & Charlestown, May 11, 1832." John P. Ober, David White, Joseph J. Procter, Robert M. Todd, George Saville, owners; Abraham Williams, jr., master. Reg. Oct. 6, 1832, "Enrollment no. 89 issued July 17, 1832." John P. Ober, David White, Robert M. Todd, George Saville, owners; Abraham Williams, jr., master.

ARIADNE, sch., Rockport, 58 20/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1824; length, 56 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 5 in.; depth, 7 ft. 3 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. —, 1852, Prev. Enrollment Mar. 26, 1851. William Tarr, Rockport, owner; master not given. Reg. Sept. 8, 1852, "Prev. Enrollment, May 20, 1852." George J. Knights, William Tarr, Eben Pool, all of Rockport, owners; Charles Rowe, jr., master. Reg. Mar. 13, 1854, "Prev. Enrollment, Oct. 18, 1852." George J. Knights, William Tarr, Ebenezer Pool, all of Rockport, owners; Charles Rowe, jr., master.

ASTORIA, sch., 23 35/95 tons; built Essex, 1849; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Dec. 11, 1849, "Carpenter's certificate, Essex, July —, 1849." Owner not given; George Perkins, master.

ASTORIA, sch., Rockport, 89 25/95 tons; built Mass. 1851; length, 68 ft.; breadth, 17 ft.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Feb. 10, 1851, "Surrendered and enrolled, Portland, Feb. 28, 1851." Albert Maddocks and others, owners; Albert Maddocks, master.

ASTREA, sch., 70 12/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1785; length, 62 ft.; breadth 17 ft. 2 in.; depth, 7 ft. 6 in. Reg. Dec. 15, 1789. Samuel Babson of Gloucester, owner; Samuel Babson, 3d, master. Reg. Sept. 26, 1793. Samuel Babson of Gloucester, owner; John Stacy, master. Reg. July 21, 1797. Samuel Babson of Gloucester, owner; John Stacey, master. Reg. May 9, 1799. Samuel Babson of Gloucester, owner; Henry Smith, master. Reg. June 9, 1802. Sch. 82 32/95 tons; length, 59 ft.; breadth, 17 ft. 8 in.; depth, 9 ft. 2 in. Samuel Babson of Gloucester, owner; Charles Babson, master.

ATLANTIC, sch., Bristol, Me., 55 27/95 tons; built Essex, 1834, temporary; length, 55 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 1 in.;

depth, 7 ft. 1½ in.; one deck, two masts, pink stern, figure head. Reg. —, 1853, "Prev. Enrollment, May 25, 1852." John L. Carter, Samuel —, Bristol Me., owners.

AUGUSTA, sch., 95 50/95 tons; built Newbury, 1795; length, 67 ft.; breadth, 20 ft.; depth, 8 ft. 3 in. Reg. June 22, 1795. Fitz William Sargent, Elias Davis and Samuel Somes, all of Gloucester, owners; Noah Bennet, master. Reg. Feb. 3, 1797. Fitz Wm. Sargent and Elias Davis, both of Gloucester, owners; Noah Bennett, master. Reg. Dec. 12, 1799, altered to a brig. Fitz W. Sargent and Elias Davis, both of Gloucester, owners; Elias Davis, master. Reg. May 17, 1802. Fitz W. Sargent of Gloucester and Elias Davis, owners; Elias Davis, master. Reg. Mar. 26, 1804. One deck, two masts, square stern. Fitz William Sargent, Elias Davis, Benj. K. Hough, owners; Abraham Williams, master.

AUGUSTA, brig, square stern, 121 55/95 tons; built Newbury, 1795; length, 67 ft.; breadth, 20 ft.; depth, 10 ft. 6 in.; figure head. Reg. Oct. 26, 1804. Fitz W. Sargent, Elias Davis, Benj. K. Hough, owners; John Harraden, master. Reg. Apr. 12, 1809. Fitz William Sargent, Benjamin K. Hough, Elias Davis, owners; Elias Davis, master.

AUGUSTA, ship, square stern, 196 62/95 tons; built Amesbury, 1821; length, 86 ft. 7 in.; breadth, 22 ft. 7½ in.; depth, 11 ft. 3¾ in.; billet head. Reg. Jan. 7, 1822, "Temporary Reg. no. 55 issued at Newburyport Dec. 17, 1821." Winthrop Sargent, Fitz William Sargent, owners; Elias Davison, master.

AUGUSTA, sch., Falmouth, Me., 45 73/95 tons; built Essex, 1824, temporary; length, 50 ft. 5 in.; breadth, 15 ft.; depth, 7 ft.; one deck, two masts, pink stern. Reg. Mar. 5, 1853, "Prev. Enrollment no. 152, July 26, 1852, Surrendered Portland, Mar. 10, 1853." John Johnson, Joshua Gilman, of Falmouth, Me., owners; John Johnson, master.

AUGUSTA, sch., Harwich, 71 24/95 tons; built Mass., 1847; length, 53 ft. 3 in.; breadth, 17 ft. 6 in.; depth, 5 ft. 4 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Mar. 22, 1848, "Carpenter's Certificate Nov. 3, 1847." Owner and master not given.

AURELIA, bark, 264 35/95 tons; built Hingham, 1811; length, 91 ft. 8 in.; breadth, 25 ft. 8 in.; depth, 12 ft. 10 in.; two decks, three masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Dec. 17, 1825, "Temporary Reg. no. 278 issued at Boston,

Dec. 6, 1825." William Parrott, William Pearce, Samuel Pearce, George W. Pearce, owners; Peter Swinson, master.

AVENGER, sch., 59 8/95 tons; built Bristol, Me., 1848; length, 57 ft.; breadth, 16 ft. 8 in.; depth, 7 ft. 2 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Nov. 2, 1860, "Enrollment no. 172 issued May 26, 1860." George Norwood, William Dennis, Joshua Tucker, jr., Joshua Tucker of Portland, Me., owners; Charles S. Cogswell, master.

AVON, sch., Duxbury, 23 41/95 tons; built Essex, 1820, temporary; length, 38 ft. 10 in.; breadth, 12 ft. 1 in.; depth, 5 ft. 10 in.; one deck, two masts, pink stern. Reg. Nov. 27, 1829, "Enrollment no. 11, granted Mar. 19, 1824." William Prior, Henry Wadsworth, both of Duxbury, owners; William Prior, master.

AVON, sloop, Rockland, 58 50/95 tons; built Somerset, 1827, temporary; length, 53 ft. 2 in.; breadth, 19 ft. 4 in.; depth, 6 ft. 11 in.; one deck, one mast, square stern, billet head. Reg. Oct. 13, 1851, "Prev. Enrollment, June 25, 1850." Samuel Hall of Rockland, owner; — Higgins, master.

AVONDALE, bgtne., Tremont, Me., 196 41/95 tons; built Eden, Me., 1853, temporary; length, 96 ft.; breadth, 25 ft. 10 in.; depth, 9 ft. 1/4 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. —, 1855, "Prev. Enrollment no. 72, Ellsworth, Nov. 11, 1853." "Vessel altered to a brigantine." Otis Brewer, Daniel W. Brown, Edward — of Eden, Me., John Langley, George Dio, Jacob B. Watts, Stephen Billings, Tremont, Me., James S. Pike of N. Y., owners; James Tinker, master.

B. D. HASKINS, sch., square stern, 56 69/100 tons; built Essex, 1860; length, 66 7/10 ft.; breadth, 20 5/10 ft.; depth, 7 5/10 ft.; one deck, two masts, billet head. Reg. Dec. 18, 1871, "Enrollment no. 16 issued Jan. 31, 1866." Stephen Dodd, David Tarr, James G. Tarr, Daniel Allen and Sons, owners; A. F. York, master.

B. F. ALLEN, sch., Manchester, 100 tons; built Essex, 1849; length, 80 ft.; breadth, 20 ft.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Oct. 15, 1849. Isaac A. Morgan and others, owners; Isaac A. Morgan, master.

B. K. HOUGH, sch., square stern, 98 38/95 tons; built Essex, 1859; length, 73 ft.; breadth, 20 ft. 10 in.; depth, 7 ft. 5 in.; billet head. Reg. Dec. 5, 1860, "Enrollment no. 17 issued Jan. 19, 1860." Charles H. Pew, John Pew, owners; William Sadler, master.

BALANCE, sch., square stern, 66 21/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1832; length, 58 ft. 7 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 2½ in.; depth, 7 ft. 7 in.; one deck, two masts, no galleries, billet head. Reg. Oct. 9, 1845, "Enrollment no. 116 issued July 8, 1845." John S. Johnson, John W. Lowe, both of Gloucester, and Charles Stephens of Beverly, owners; Asa Knowlton, jr., master.

BALANCE, sch., square stern, Plymouth, 86 87/95 tons; built Essex, 1835; temporary, length, 66 ft. 3 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 3½ in.; depth, 8 ft. 2 in.; billet head. Reg. Mar. 24, 1836, "Enrollment no. 15 issued at Ipswich, July 24, 1835." Elkanah Bartlett of Plymouth, Arnold Leach of Plympton, owners; Joel Boyd, master.

BANNER, sch., 67 88/95 tons; built Hingham, 1831; length, 63 ft. 5 in.; breadth, 17 ft. 2 in.; depth, 7 ft. 1 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Aug. 12, 1854 "Prev. Enrollment no. 142, July 21, 1854." John W. Lowe, owner; Benjamin Adams, master. Reg. 1855. John W. Lowe, owner; William Davis, master.

BANNER, sch., Harperstown, Me., 43 39/95 tons; built Gloucester, 1837; temporary, length, 50 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 15 ft. 7 in.; depth, 6 ft. 5 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. 1846, "Prev. Enrollment no. 101, Apr. 25, 1846." William Thomas and others, owners.

BANVARD, sch., square stern, 42 95/100 tons; built Essex, 1847; length, 57 ft. 10 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 6 in.; depth, 7 ft. 1 in.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. Nov. 8, 1870, "Enrollment no. 124 dated Apr. 20, 1869." Frederic G. Wonson, John F. Wonson, Roger W. Wonson, Franklin A. Wonson, owners; William H. Kent, master. Reg. Dec. 23, 1871. "Enrollment no. 96, issued Apr. 19, 1871." Fitz W. Geering, master. Reg. Jan. 7, 1873, Enrollment no. 139 issued June 28, 1872. Same owners.

BARBARA FRIETCHIE, sch., square stern, 60 43/100 tons; built Kennebunk Me., 1866; length, 71 5/10 ft.; breadth, 21 8/10 ft.; depth, 7 3/10 ft.; one deck, two masts, billet head. Reg. Dec. 15, 1871, "Enrollment no. 105 issued Apr. 24, 1871." John J. Pew, John Pew, Charles H. Pew, owners; H. M. Seelye, master. Reg. Jan. 7, 1873, "Enrollment no. 60 issued Apr. 2, 1872." John J. Pew, John Pew, Charles H. Pew, owners; George A. Clement, master.

BARRACONTA, sch., elliptic stern, 68 57/100 tons; built Essex, 1870; length, 73 ft.; breadth, 21 ft. 2 in.; depth, 7 ft. 6 in.; billet head. Reg. Oct. 24, 1870, "Enrollment

no. 117 issued May 6, 1870." David S. Presson, John W. Brown, Elisha Brown, owners; Benjamin S. Cook, master.

BAY STATE, sch., 86 44/95 tons; built Essex, 1854; length, 68 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 19 ft. 6 in.; depth 7 ft.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. —, 1855, "Prev. Enrollment no. 63, Mar. 31, 1854." Moses Tarr, Daniel Grant, Daniel Pulcifer, owners; Daniel Grant, master.

BECCA, bgtne., Gloucester, 149 32/95 tons; built Bradford, 1790; length, 57 ft. 9 in.; breadth, 22 ft. 2 in.; depth, 11 ft. 1 in.; figure head. Reg. Oct. 18, 1790. Joseph Foster of Gloucester, owner; Joseph Foster, jr., master.

BEE, sloop, square stern, 31 14/95 tons; built Braintree, 1796; temporary, length, 49 ft.; breadth, 13 ft. 10 in.; depth, 5 ft. 3 in.; Reg. Feb. 2, 1805. Ebenezer Kent of Wiscasset, owner; Ebenezer Kent, master.

BELLE, sch., square stern, 23 15/100 tons; built Boston, 1847; length, 48 ft.; breadth, 15 8/10 ft.; depth, 6 ft.; one deck, two masts, billet head. Reg. Dec. 14, 1871 "Enrollment no. 149 issued May 1, 1866." Frederic G. Wonson, John F. Wonson, John F. Wonson, jr., Roger W. Wonson, John Anderson, Charles Ellis, owners; Charles Ellis, master.

BELLE, sch., 74 16/95 tons; built Hampton, N. H., 1851; length, 66 ft. 9 in.; breadth, 18 ft. 2½ in.; depth, 6 ft. 9 in.; one deck, two masts square stern, billet head. Reg. June 19 1857, "Prev. Enrollment no. 82, Apr. 20, 1854." Moses Tarr, George H. Rogers, Thomas P. Dunton, owners, Thomas P. Dunton, master.

BELLE BRANDON, sch., square stern, 59 44/100 tons; built Bristol, Me., 1860; length, 67 ft. 7 in.; breadth, 20 ft. 3 in.; depth, 7 ft. 5 in.; billet head. Reg. Dec. 12, 1870, "Enrollment no. 136 issued Apr. 27, 1868." William H. Mackay, owner; Timothy Mackay, master.

BELLEROPHON, sch., square stern, 85 56/100 tons; built Essex, 1873; length, 80 6/10 ft.; breadth, 22 3/10 ft.; depth, 8 3/10 ft.; one deck, two masts, billet head. Reg. Dec. 9, 1873, "Carpenter's Certif. dated at Essex Nov. 17, 1873." Benjamin F. Allen, Michael Walen, Thomas Goodwin, Alfred E. Walen, Daniel Allen, jr., owners; William McDonald, master.

BELLONA, sch., 57 10/95 tons; built Essex, 1838; length, 56 ft. 6 in.; breadth, 16 ft. 8 in.; depth, 7 ft.; one deck, two masts, square stern, billet head. Reg. —, 1855, "Prev. Enrollment Apr. 16, 1855." Henry Wonson, owner; Henry S. Wonson, master.

(To be continued)

LETTER FROM A FORTY-NINER

COMMUNICATED BY SIDNEY AUGUSTUS MERRIAM

Charles Greenlief Merriam, the "Forty-Niner," was born at Topsfield, Essex County, Massachusetts, 24 July 1829, son of Frederick Jones and Hannah (Perley) Merriam, and grandson of Doctor John and Hannah (Jones) Merriam.

Doctor John Merriam went to Topsfield in 1783 from "Merriam's Corner" (now marked by a Revolutionary tablet), at Concord, where Joseph Merriam, founder of the Massachusetts branch, settled upon arrival from Tewdley, County Kent, England, in the *Castle*, of London, in July, 1638. The English family had long been settled at Goudhurst, Boughton Monchelsea and Horsmonden, Kent, England.

Charles Greenlief Merriam died on the return journey from California. The following letter was written to his brother, Henry Augustus Merriam, who married, at Marblehead, Hannah, daughter of Captain John Hooper and Tabitha (Bowden) Gregory.

Dear Brother Henry

Perhaps you have given up all hopes of ever hearing from me again, but this is the first opportunity I have had when there was any chance of sending a letter. I wrote to Uncle Proctor & John from Mo—— and should to you all if I had time. And as it was I did not ever finish John's letter. I calculated to write from Durango as we all supposed there was a mail by the City of Mexico & Vera Cruz but on our arrival we found there was none. I prepared some letters there to send from Mazatlan not having the least idea but what there was a mail conveyance from there and we found none.

Now I am preparing letters on the Pacific so if we meet a steamer on our arrival they will be already. We left Corpus for Frisco on the 2nd of April with 28 horses & 15 mules, two large army wagons and one light spring wagon which we brought with us.

Col. Kenney agreed to furnish us with a guide & he came out to our encampment the 1st. night with the guide. The next morning the guide left us and said he was going on ahead to send back some cattle and would meet us at night. So we went on and encamped. He did not come up [to] us. We started the next morning without him and kept on and he did not come up at all.

The 4th. day out we did not come to water and had to encamp without it and what troubled us the most was we did not know how far we should have to go before we should reach water. We brought with us half a barrel, about a quart to a man and we started the next morning hoping to reach it in a few miles. But we kept on travelling on and did not reach water until night. Some of the Company were on ahead searching for water and when one of them came back and said they had found plenty of it, it was the sweetest sound I ever heard. And it was enough to do your soul good to see the animals drink.

We kept on our journey and did not have to suffer as we carried with us enough to stand us two days. After we had travelled nine days we met a party from Corpus and who were returning. They informed us that we were on the wrong road & were within two days travel of Laredo. They brought sad news from Laredo; said the Cholera was there and from 10 to 15 were dying daily. And they advised us not to stop there but to proceed to Lampazos but as we had brought double the amount of goods that we could possibly pack through, and as our wagons were too heavy for our use, we concluded to leave the wagons at any rate as we had packed our horses for the last two days and walked. We agreed to reduce our personal baggage down to 30 pounds. The party said there was no water until we reached Laredo and they advised us to travel all night, which we did, and all the next day in the burning sun. And all the way the sand was very deep. Some of the way we had to put on all the animals to one team and go perhaps a mile & then go back after the other wagon. Our animals before night got all tired out and we found it impossible to get in and only three miles from the city and we encamped all tired

out. Some of our [company] found water a short distance from the encampment which was very bad indeed. So bad that I could not drink any. One of the Company went in to get some bread & water and they brought out some nice. I was so tired that I made some objection to pitching the tent but it was thought best to pitch it and very lucky that we did, for that night we had a very severe & very cold shower.

The next morning after packing up we went in and encamped within a mile of the town. Which was Saturday April 14.

Sunday a few of us thought we would go and see the place and found it the worst place in the world, we thought. Capt. Waters said he never saw so mean a place any where on the coast of Africa. We got back about 11 o'clk. and found that Chas. Boyden from Beverly was taken down very severely sick. The Doctor was called and said it was the Cholera. I never saw a person change so fast in my life. I should not have known him when I got back. About noon Mr. Parker of Lynn was taken. He went down with [us] to see the place and soon I saw that it was the Cholera. The Doctor did not give any encouragement of Mr. Boyden and he lived until morning. 16th. Mr. Parker was not any better and he lived till noon. It was rather discouraging to proceed any further for we did not know but what we should meet the Cholera all through the country. Some wanted to go back but did not know but what they should meet it on the way. Mr. Fowler came to me and asked me how I felt. I told him, well, and told me to be very careful of my diet and he did not think there was any danger. 17th. The Company were downhearted and did not know what to do. I kept up good spirits as I felt well.

18th. This morning when I awoke I found Mr. Jones standing up over me and at the first glance I saw that the Cholera had got fast hold of him. I asked him how he felt. He said, very bad. I called Capt. Waters and he gave him some medicine but to no avail. This was the day set for our departure and we carried our goods down to the river and had them ferried over. We proposed to leave Mr. Jones & one of us to stay with him,

but after we got all the goods over, they came down and said that he was dead. That night we encamped in a Mexican House and in the morning when we got our goods together we found we could not begin to pack them all & we sold what we could & gave away some & threw away [some]. We had disposed of our large wagons; both for \$50 and they cost us \$225.00 at Corpus and purchased extra mules. After disposing of the goods we packed up & started about noon; marched nine miles and encamped. I drove the wagon & did not get in so soon as the rest and when I did I found that Mr. Prince of Beverly sick. He looked poorly but not so bad as the rest. 20th. This morning was a very sad one to us. We found Mr. Prince had been quite sick all night and that two others of the Company were down with the Cholera and we had but very little hopes of either but Mr. Prince looked the best of them.

I found that we were in the worst situation yet and where it would end no one knew. That to live, I thought that was not possible and I made up my mind to take the chance with the rest. At 3 A. M. one of the sick died. The others remained about the same and we had hopes of both.

[End of the fourth page and begins with the crossed writing on the first page.]

April 21st. On inquiring after the sick, Mr. Prince was quite as well and they had strong hopes of Mr. Cox but soon he began to fail and died at 10 Oclk. A. M. We saw that Mr. Prince was in a fair way to get well and that he would not be able to proceed with us for six or eight days, so he concluded to return home if anyone would go with him. Mr. Copeland of Salem volunteered to go with him. We carried him back to Laredo & left him. We all, I think, had the symtoms and I do not think one of us could lift 50 pounds. I never felt so weak in my life.

23rd. We started early this morning as we had a very hard march for water. After we had travelled about two hours Mr. Dresser rode up and asked me if I would not exchange and let him ride. I did & I soon saw that he was too weak to drive. And I got on and soon saw

that the dreadful disease had got strong hold of him. He was one of the healthiest of our company. And that morning he spoke [to] one or two of how well he felt. After we had gone about a mile further Capt. Waters rode up & said I must make room for another, Mr. Taylor. He had not been well since leaving town. We stopped, packed what things were in the wagon on the mules that could be packed and the rest we threw away. We made a bed up in the wagon & laid Mr. Dresser in, poor fellow. He entreated of us to leave him on the road and let him die; said that he could not live to ride five miles. After making these arrangements I got on and drove with all possible haste so as to arrive at the water early but the poor mules gave out and the train caught up with us. We put in horses and arrived at the watering place at dark and Mr. Dresser did not live until we had got the animals out of the wagon. After they all got in I found that another of the company was sick, Mr. Charles Robinson of Lynn, a very promising young man who left home with a fortune. He was a very hearty strong man. That night I felt about as bad as at any time.

24th. The sick men not any better and that Mr. Robinson had got the disease in its worst form. We found that we had not bread enough to last two days, & we concluded to put Mr. Robinson and Taylor into the wagon and proceed. We got ready at 12 Oclk. & travelled 15 miles & encamped without water. 25th. This morning brought sad intelligence that Mr. Robinson was dead. We made some coffee for breakfast. Our bread was all gone. After burying Mr. Robinson we started not knowing how far it was into Lampazos for our guide went ahead and left us yesterday nor when we should get another meal but we travelled on and at 10 Oclk came to the water within 9 miles of the city where there was a guard stationed to prevent anyone from going into the city, to keep out the Cholera. They went in for some bread and came out with but one dollar's worth and said that they would bring out some more early in the morning. The bread was hardly a mouthful apiece to us.

The next morning our bread did not come out and we had to go without any breakfast. We waited until noon and it did not come, not till 4 Oclk and we were all very faint for want of something to eat. There was plenty of it and it tasted sweeter than any I ever tasted before. We were close to the Highlands and no Cholera ahead of us which gave us fresh courage. to proceed. After we had got bread enough to last us to Parrus we started leaving Lampasus to the left through the chaparal where there was no path and I came very near getting killed going over a bad place. I fell under the mules heels and could not stop them until they brought up against a bush. We got through it safely and came onto a fine road with lighter hearts than we had had for some time.

The country from Corpus to Laredo is principally all prairie and feed is very scarce. Our animals [suffered] very much for want of good feed.

No trees of any kind did we see the whole distance. Nothing save the mesquite and Prickly Pear which we hated but if it were not for them it would be hardly better than a desert. There were some of the most beautiful species of cactus I ever saw. The stalk grows out of the ground in the shape of a cucumber, in clusters, and we counted some with 200 blossoms, the most beautiful colors in the world. At a distance you would think it was one large rose. There is not a Rancho the whole distance. And there is none from Laredo to Lampasas, neither feed of any consequence. The animals live principally upon the mesquite. The country is much the same only the mountains but they are nothing to attract your attention.

From Lampasas to Mon Clara(?) we did not come to any until we were about half way. And it was enough to refresh us as we had not seen anything like a house since leaving Laredo. After that they were within a few miles of each other until we reached Mont Clara(?)

We arrived at Mont Clara the first day of May. And a pretty place it was too. There was the prettiest park I ever saw and beautiful shade trees alongside of the walks. We there had to procure a new guide and it was very difficult to get anyone to go, so fearful were they of

the Indians on their return—they were not afraid to go with us.

After trying for some time we finally got an American to go with us. And we expected to have a battle with them before we got through by their stories, but we went through, not seeing one through the whole country. We reached Parvus on the 16th. There, there was plenty of fruit, sweet wine from their own vineyards, very cheap & white. We stopped there. We lived high and enjoyed ourselves. We stopped there a week and arrived at Durango(?) on the 31st. The flower of any place we had passed through. There were splendid houses, yards, streets, which made it very pleasant. The first glass windows we saw in Mexico and those were scarce. The Mexicans are generally friendly to the Americans and we have but very little trouble with them. At any large place they are very troublesome to us. They will steal everything they can lay their hands on. At a large Hacienda there was a fellow came and claimed a mule which we had driven 150 miles. He said he was stolen from him. We all said he should not have it. At any rate he went to see the Alcalde & he sent for Capt. Waters to come to his office but the message was misunderstood and the Alcalde turned out 25 soldiers to come down and take Capt. Waters up to his office by force. After eight o'clock in the evening most all were turned in. Some of our company were there & heard what they were up to and came to the camp. We were up and on hand for them — could have taken the place easy but there was an American there who came down & Capt. Waters went up before "His Honor" and settled the difficulty with but little trouble.

(continued on the same sheet)

Sacramento City Aug. 12th. 1849.

I wrote to all but you at St. Francisco and should to you but I lost this letter which I had commenced and did not have time to write again but it is just as well and better as we have a chance to [send] letters by a Gentleman who is going in the steamer and this will reach you the same time the rest do. We had a very long passage up of fifty days which we did not calculate to

exceed twenty five days. We were on an allowance of bread and water and have had a very hard time which I will not attempt to give you the particulars of. We arrived at St. Francisco the 4th and left for this place on the 10th. St. Francisco I do not like and do not think it at all a place calculated for a city and while we were there it was foggy and very cold in the morning and evening and most all say the large city will not be built on the situation it now is.

We find a great many from Mass. and from Salem we find a great many who started about the same time we did around the Cape. We hear very bad news from most all overland companies; have broken up & gone back, some have died.

This place I like better than St. Francisco and think it will be quite as large a place. The prospects are very good I think in the mines and we are going to start in the morning. But then I would not advise anyone to come out here. It is rather unhealthy and a man has got to go through a great deal & run the risk of his life for perhaps not anything. Thousands will come out here and go back poor if they live, which will be a great deal of risk to run.

You have all the news which I should [send] if I wrote more. I will write perhaps every steamer to some of you and I have opportunity to write any longer, and believe me your affectionate brother

Greenlief.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE AMERICAN MARITIME INDUSTRIES AND PUBLIC POLICY, 1789-1914. An Economic History. By John G. B. Hutchins. 1941. 627 pp., octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$5.00.

This author, who is instructor in Economics in Cornell University, has done for the merchant marine what Admiral Mahan did for the navy, and this fat volume is the gratifying result. The first part gives a general discussion of the interest of the national state in the maritime industries, and the techniques employed in their protection and control. The second part is primarily concerned with the free, competitive maritime economy associated with the wooden sailing ship. The third is centered around the growth of large-scale enterprise, the rise of steam navigation, and the development of new types of government control and protection. Since in the United States wooden sailing ships played a much larger role than steamships, considerably more than half of the space is devoted to the development of shipping of this type. It tells for the first time the history of coastwise navigation and the story of the great wooden schooners of the period from 1870 to 1914. The book is therefore not only an economic history but also a treatise on the foundation of sea power and the principles of navigation policy. One chapter is devoted to the background of ship building and shipping industries in the Colonial period, and another interesting chapter is a history of the rise of the shipbuilding industry in the United States between 1789 and 1830. The "Golden Age" of the American wooden sailing ship, and its first great boom, from 1830 to 1856, is given in detail. Marine railways, which were the chief means of docking vessels for repairs, the first of which was built at Salem about 1824, were a great improvement over the previous method of having repairs made in foreign ports, or by rolling vessels on their sides or grounding them on sandy beaches. Four important shipyards were in operation in Salem before 1677 and three more were added before the first quarter of the next century, so that it is said there were as many as eight sea-going ships on the ways here at one time. There is a great deal of information relating to Massachusetts ports, which the excellent index brings out. An imposing bibliography completes this book, which is an outstanding maritime history. Recommended to all libraries.

THE WHELOCK FAMILY OF CALAIS, VERMONT. Their American Ancestry and Descendants. By Marcus Warren Waite. 1940. 175 pp., small octavo, cloth, illus. Montpelier, Vermont: The Driftwind Press. Price, \$4.00.

The Wheelocks were among the earliest settlers of Calais, having originally migrated from Charlton, Massachusetts. This particular line is from the Reverend Ralph Wheelock, supposedly of Shropshire, England, ancestry, who was a teacher as well as a minister, and whose descendants seem to have had a propensity for the teaching profession. A very useful book for all who are of the Vermont branch.

SARGENT-MURRAY-GILMAN-HOUGH HOUSE. 1941. Gloucester. 60 pp., 12 mo., cloth, illus.

This little guide to Gloucester's famous historical house is one of the best and most comprehensive of all such books that have come to our attention. It is illustrated with photographs furnished by Samuel Chamberlain, the distinguished artist, which adds greatly to its appearance. In addition to the prominent families which have owned and occupied this house, it is interesting to note that it was the residence during his pastorate in Gloucester of the Rev. John Murray, the first preacher of Universalism in this country, who married Judith Sargent.

NEW ENGLAND'S FISHING INDUSTRY. By Edward A. Ackerman. 1941. 303 pp., large octavo, cloth, illus. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Price, \$4.00.

This book is an exhaustive study of the fishing industry of New England, principally made up of catches since 1936, according to statistics of vessel landings at Boston, Gloucester and Portland. The author, who is instructor in geography at Harvard University, states that it is an attempt to describe "everything associated with the fishery from the potential netfuls of fish swimming about the Gulf of Maine to sea food on the consumer's table—but entirely from the point of view of location." It evaluates the fisheries as factors in locating other cultural phenomena in the region and treats of the forces which impel the movement of the fishery products. It also takes up industries relating to fishing, and is illustrated with many photographs made by the author. Good maps, used as end-sheets, show both off-shore grounds by name, as well as locations in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Maine. Such chapters as those including

the descriptions of industries related to fishing, the social aspects of the fisheries and New England fishing gear are interesting to all whose ancestors have lived on this old New England food from the first settlement, as it is to those connected commercially with the industry. In short, it is a book for geographers, economists, fishermen and fish merchants, marine biologists, and maritime historians. Recommended to all libraries.

SEA POWER AND BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, 1783-1820. A Study in British Colonial Policy. By Gerald S. Graham. 1941. 302 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Price, \$3.50.

The author, who is assistant professor of history at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, has contributed much new material for the economic historian, for the student of naval history and for all who are interested in the general field of Canadian-American relations. This book deals with the political basis of British sea power, the British Navigation System, a system which had the two-fold object of profit and power during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is based chiefly on unprinted materials available in the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa, the Public Archives of Nova Scotia at Halifax, the Public Record Office in London and the British Museum. After an investigation of the close association between trade and sea power, Mr. Graham considers the clash between trade and sea power that came immediately after the American Revolution. In theory the principle of a self-contained Empire remained, but in practice the British North American colonies depended on the United States for supplies; and Great Britain, as she became increasingly industrialized, relied more and more on the American consumer. Such chapters as *The Nursery for Seamen*, *The Foundations of British Commercial Policy Toward the United States* and *the Role of the Maritimes*, as well as *Carrying Trades with the British West Indies* are most interesting. The trades in rum, wheat, timber and contraband are treated under the title "Functions of the Staple Trades." The troubles which preceded the War of 1812 are described in the chapter "The Rise of the Atlantic Entrepôt, 1809-1814," and while shipping was reduced to a minimum, it is estimated that, by the end of the war, British goods to the value of a million pounds sterling had passed through Nova Scotia to the United States. The book is illustrated with several maps and charts. Recommended to all libraries.

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